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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

RED FLAG

No 1, 1 JANUARY 1987

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## CHINA REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

#### RED FLAG

No 1, 1 JANUARY 1987

[Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal RED FLAG of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.]

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## AMID THE FINE SITUATION, DO NOT FORGET THE BASIC EXPERIENCES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 87 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] With the coming of spring in sleet and snow, a new year has begun. When we look back on the past year at this moment, we can find that our internal situation is generally very good. The political situation is good, the economic situation is good, and new achievements have been made in various fields including the reform, opening up, and both the economic construction and the building of spiritual civilization. Last year, our economic situation was comparatively good. There was a trend of relaxation in the contradictions between the general supply and general demand of our society, steady growth of both industrial and agricultural production was maintained, the markets in towns and country were brisk, and the people's livelihood was continuously improved. Although some problems emerged in the course of enlivening the economy, since they were discovered in good time and some necessary measures have been or are being adopted, they are not difficult to solve. It can be expected that the situation of 1987 will be better than last year. The reasons are as follows: In 1986, the central authorities already made preparations and arrangements in many fields for this year's work, there are definite directives and appropriate measures for this year's reforms, our work in various fields has been improved, the political situation is stable, and the broad masses of cadres and people are expecting to do a better job in reform and opening up and to maintain the good situation characterized by the steady and harmonious economic development and stability and unity in the political field. We must have a sufficient understanding of the favorable situation at present, boost our vigor, and work hard to do a better job in various fields in the new year.

Eight years have passed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. As is generally acknowledged throughout the world, great changes have taken place in China over the past 8 years. During that period, we made great efforts to create a new situation of stability and unity in the political field and steady and harmonious development of our economy. This situation has not appeared easily. It is a precious result of implementing a series of important policy decisions of the CPC Central Committee which have been worked out in light of China's realities. The basic experience of those 8 years is: We must resolutely adhere to the four basic principles and



continue to carry out reform while opening up to the outside world and must work hard under the firm leadership of the CPC Central Committee, relying on the great unity of the whole party, the whole Army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. We must make continuous efforts to preserve and develop the current fine situation and must firmly bear in mind this basic experience.

In doing everything, we must proceed from China's realities and adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts. Nobody is against this principle in words, but in deeds, some comrades often forget it. For example, some comrades like to do things in an extravagant manner. This shows that they have neglected the most important reality of our country--large population with a poor economic basis. Although we have achieved rapid development in our economy over the past few years, since we have a poor economic basis, our country is still one of the poor countries in the world. We will be unable to thoroughly change our backward situation in the economic, scientific and technological, and educational fields unless we work very hard for several decades. Thus, we are required to oppose extravagance and practice economy in production, circulation, and capital construction as well as in all undertakings. For another example, in promoting democracy, we must also proceed from China's realities. Just as in reform of the economic structure, on the question of how to promote democracy, we must not mechanically copy the ready patterns from abroad as well, but must follow a socialist path with distinctive Chinese characteristics and develop the democracy that is suitable for China's conditions. Building a high degree of democracy is our target. We must firmly carry out reform of the political structure and advance toward this target. But we must also realize that building a high degree of democracy needs time. It cannot be realized overnight but requires our long-term efforts. It is necessary to develop socialist democracy step by step, in good order, and under leadership, so that it can serve preserving and developing the political situation of stability and unity. The so-called "great democracy" advocated during the "Great Cultural Revolution" is not democracy in any sense. It can only lead to the rampancy of anarchism. We must treasure and develop the political situation of stability and unity. It is the most fundamental condition for continuing the reform, opening up, and our socialist modernization drive, and the most important guarantee of the development of socialist democracy.

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IMPROVE INNER-PARTY LIFE, INCREASE THE VITALITY OF GRASS-ROOTS PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 87 pp 3-7, 22

[Article by Wang Zhaoguo [3769 0340 0948]; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently pointed out that one of the objectives of China's political structural reform is to preserve the vitality of the party and state. Comrade Hu Yaobang stressed on numerous occasions that it is absolutely necessary to strengthen the "blood-forming functions" and "immunity" of party organizations. Under the new historical conditions, effectively solving the problem of increasing the vitality of party organizations is crucial to the current efforts to strengthen party organization still further. It is the objective demand for developing China's socialist modernization program and the common duty of party organizations at all levels and party members throughout the party.

The history of the CPC, from its birth 65 years ago, to the present shows that, having developed from small to large and from weak to strong, having gone through countless difficulties and hardships, and having won numerous victories, our party has indeed become a vanguard of the working class filled with vigor and vitality. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has centralized the will of the people, resolutely set things right, redefined and implemented a correct Marxist line, formulated a magnificent blueprint for rejuvenating China and making the country strong and the people prosperous in the new period, and discovered a path for achieving socialist modernization in keeping with the national conditions. Now, a great historical trend characterized by all-round reform and opening up to the outside world has taken shape on a national scale. Meanwhile, leading organs at all levels and the contingents of cadres have made marked progress on the road of making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professionally competent. Great successes have been made in the all-round party rectification. During the Sixth 5-Year Plan, more than 6 million outstanding elements were recruited into the party. Another 8-odd-million activists are still striving to join the party. All these are the latest testimony that our party has acquired great vigor and vitality. The development of, and changes in, the situation have set new and higher demands on our party. To

adapt themselves to these objective demands, all party organizations should consciously and constantly install new vitality in the course of promoting socialist modernization. This vitality means having the overall situation in mind, proceeding from the actual conditions, and creatively carrying out our work in line with the party's line and basic policies and principles; it means upholding the four basic principles, persisting in all-round reform and opening up to the outside world, and uniting with and leading the masses in vigorously developing the socialist commodity economy and various other undertakings; and it means solving, independently and in a responsible manner, the various contradictions within the organization, voluntarily cleansing the filth in our organism, upholding justice, removing evil, and adhering to the principle of party spirit.

Why is it necessary to stress increasing the vitality of grass-roots party organizations while continuously strengthening the building of leading bodies at all levels?

FIRST, THIS IS NECESSARY TO UPHOLD AND IMPROVE THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP OVER THE SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION UNDERTAKINGS. The leading position and key role of the CPC in socialist construction, which is necessary for the historical development of the Chinese revolution, and is the common will of the people of all nationalities throughout the country, cannot be replaced by any other political forces. Our party has defined the magnificent objectives of China's economic development until the end of this century and the middle of the next century. It has made comprehensive arrangements for the socialist modernization program, formulated the principles and policies for all-round reform and opening up to the outside world, adopted a series of strategic measures for perpetuating political stability in the country, and so on. All these reflect the correct leadership of the party. However, only through the practical and effective work of over 2 million grass-roots party committees, general party branches, and party branches on all fronts and at all levels and of the masses in different trades and units is it possible to turn all these into the struggle and practice of the people in their hundreds of millions and into a great force for building a powerful, modern socialist country. We can thus see that the vitality and role of grass-roots party organizations are of crucial importance.

SECOND, INCREASING THE VITALITY OF GRASS-ROOTS PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IS ALSO NECESSARY TO ENSURING THE SMOOTH COMPLETION OF THE ALL-ROUND, PROFOUND, MAJOR SOCIAL CHANGES. The reform under the leadership of our party is the self-perfection of China's socialist system. Historical experience has repeatedly told us that all major social changes must have the conscious participation of the broad masses of the people. They will certainly bring forth large numbers of advanced elements courageously walking in the forefront of the reform. When some sections of the masses temporarily fail to see or understand the tremendous interests the reform will bring to the state and to themselves, or when certain difficulties in the reform process create doubts among some people, it is particularly necessary for the advanced elements to play a leading and exemplary role. There are now over 40 million party members in our party. This is an advanced contingent capable of shouldering the momentous historic task of leading the masses to

carry forward the reform. The more exuberant the vitality of this contingent, the more successfully the various reforms will be conducted. At present, in line with the orientation pointed out, and the plan formulated, the grass-roots party organizations in all trades and professions should make further effort by following the instructions of the central authorities, make further efforts to encourage party members in their organizations to join in the reform practice, to gain a better and correct understanding of the objectives, significance, principles and policies of the reform, and to constantly enhance their reform consciousness so that they will become keener and more tenacious about the reform. They should support all comrades inside and outside the party who are bold in conducting reform and, together with these comrades, in good time, remove all interference obstructing the reform. In this way, we can ensure the sound development of the reform and gradually achieve the hoped-for objectives.

THIRD, INCREASING THE VITALITY OF GRASS-ROOTS PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IS ALSO NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN THE BUILDING OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS. Grass-roots party organizations are the cells of the party. Only when every grass-roots organization is full of vitality is it possible for the organism of the whole party to be full of vigor and vitality. In general, the grass-roots organizations of our party are good. It should be noted, however, that there are differences in the vitality they display in the building of the two civilizations and in reform. To further strengthen the party, it is imperative to conscientiously build grass-roots organizations well and to strengthen the weak links. It is particularly necessary to help the flabby and slack organizations, which account for 5 to 10 percent of the total number of grass-roots party organizations in the urban and rural areas, so that they can really exert themselves and get into action in implementing socialist modernization and all-round reform and fully utilize the enthusiasm of party members. In this way, the grass-roots party organizations can acquire vitality and strengthen themselves and the building of the whole party can also be further increased.

In increasing the vitality of grass-roots party organizations, it is most fundamental to be guided by the correct political line and to be guaranteed of a correct organizational line, which serves the political line. On the whole, this issue has been solved since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In practical work, it is also necessary to make further efforts in numerous ways. Increasing the vitality of grass-roots party organizations by improving inner-party life is a very important task.

By grass-roots party organizations we refer not only to party organizations in such grass-roots units as factories, villages, PLA companies, schools, shops, and neighborhoods but also to grass-roots party organizations in leading organs at all levels, including the central and state organs.

TO INCREASE THE VITALITY OF GRASS-ROOTS PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, IT IS NECESSARY TO IMPROVE INNER-PARTY LIFE. This is because our party is an organic entity formed by all party members according to certain principles. In a certain sense, the strength of the party lies in the organization and in the fact that this organization has a strict discipline and a sound inner-party life,

it can effectively educate, manage, and supervise party members so that they can correctly implement the party's line, principles, and policies, and bring into full play their initiative, enthusiasm, and creativity, and it can guide party members to consciously enhance party spirit, encourage healthy trends, and rectify unhealthy ones. Lacking a sound inner-party life is actually tantamount to abolishing party organizations. Under the new situation of reform and opening up, numerous new changes have taken place in the grass-roots party organizations' social environments, tasks, and functions, and the methods and scales of individual party members' activities are also greatly different from what they were in the past. This makes it necessary not only to spare no effort in improving inner-party life but also to adopt various effective measures and methods of activities with the spirit of reform and in light of the actual conditions to raise inner-party life to a new level. In this way we can bring about a political situation characterized by both democracy and centralism and both ease of mind and vitality for the individual and a unified direction and stability. We can also fully arouse the enthusiasm of party members for implementing the four modernizations.

What should we do to improve inner-party life? At present, we must concentrate on grasping the following measures:

1. IT IS NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN GRASS-ROOTS PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND IMPROVE THE CONTENT AND MODE OF THEIR REGULAR ACTIVITIES.

I often hear people say that some grass-roots party organizations are in a state of disunity and paralysis. Is this true? On the whole, the great majority of grass-roots party organizations are good and fairly good. They have vitality. However, there are indeed a number of grass-roots party organizations lacking vitality and showing signs of flabbiness and disunity. A small handful of them are even in a state of paralysis. We should admit this reality. There are many reasons for this. We should conscientiously analyze them and find specific ways to solve the problems. What is crucial here is to enable the leaders of party organizations to keep pace with the changing objective situation in both their understanding and work, to avoid conventionality, and to refrain from sticking to the beaten track. Some grass-roots party organizations are organizationally unsound or fail to hold regular activities partly because their structures, work contents, and operational methods fail to meet the needs of the development of the socialist commodity economy and the reform of the economic structure. In the rural areas, with the widespread implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities, with payment linked to output, and the vigorous development of town and township enterprises, household industries, and specialized households, the number of party members going to other places to engage in industry and trade has increased enormously. In the urban areas, the extension of enterprise decisionmaking powers, the reform of the leadership structure, the emergence of numerous forms of ownership, the development of economic association transcending trades and regions, the changes in methods of management and operations, and the establishment of Sino-foreign joint enterprises have posed many new problems to the building of grass-roots party organizations. As far as the party's organizational building is



concerned, these changes inevitably make it necessary for us to adapt ourselves to the reform situation, to appropriately adjust the setups of grass-roots party organizations, to add new contents to our regular activities, and to create good patterns suited to the needs of the new tasks. According to the experience gained by some localities through experiments over the past 2 years, so long as we adhere to the principle that the setups of grass-roots party organizations should be conducive to reform and the development of commodity production, to the establishment of closer contact between the party and the masses, and to the heightening of party members' role, then the contradictions can gradually be solved. The regular activities of party organizations should center around the general tasks in the new period, be closely combined with the actual conditions of construction and reform in the localities and in various trades and professions, and be linked with the actual ideological conditions of party members. In their regular activities, party members should discuss how to correctly and creatively carry out party principles and policies, how to give scope to the role of party members, and how to uphold the principle of party spirit and to rectify incorrect words and deeds, and study how to solve matters of interest to the masses. The modes of regular activities should be flexible, varied, and lively. They should stress practical results and try, as much as possible, to meet the needs of party members of different professions, educational levels, and ages.

## 2. IT IS ESSENTIAL TO IMPROVE AND DEVELOP INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY.

To increase the vitality of party organizations, we must enhance party members' enthusiasm and creativity for the party's cause. To enhance party members' enthusiasm and creativity, we must improve and develop inner-party democracy. The improvement and development of inner-party democracy will definitely help party members arouse their enthusiasm and creativity for the four modernizations and reform. Moreover, the improvement and development of inner-party democracy are also a tremendous driving force for a high degree of socialist democracy. Therefore, it is necessary not only for party building but also for the building of a modern and powerful socialist state with a high degree of civilization and democracy.

At present, to improve and develop the regular activities of grass-roots party organizations, we should concentrate on solving the following two problems: First, we must conscientiously respect the democratic rights of party members stipulated in the party Constitution. These rights should be equally enjoyed by all party members, irrespective of their professions and positions. What merits our attention today is that leading cadres should enhance their consciousness of democracy and eliminate the feudal "patriarchal" system and "special privileges" mentality. Party organizations should uphold the systems laid down in the party Constitution and the principles guiding inner-party political life, create conditions for party members to exercise their democratic rights, encourage them to give counsel in both construction and reform, and support them in criticizing any leading cadres at party meetings in a responsible and realistic way and putting forward positive views or suggestions on the party's work. It is necessary to ensure party members' rights to democratic elections. In holding elections

within the party, we must fully reflect the will of the electors. It is impermissible for a small number of people to monopolize everything, to go through the motions. Second, within the leading body of a leading party group it is necessary to adhere to the system of democratic centralism. Major issues should not be decided by an individual but should be decided through collective discussions. At work, a secretary assumes a greater responsibility of leadership but, in discussing and deciding an issue, he is equal to the other members, with one man having only one vote. No individuals may overturn a majority decision without authorization. We must fully carry forward inner-party democracy and resolutely oppose any illegal acts that stifle democracy and trample on the democratic rights of party members. Moreover, we must also avoid practicing anarchy in the name of sham democracy and rectify the erroneous acts of violating the party's organizational principle so that democratic life can develop in a sound way.

### 3. IT IS NECESSARY TO ADHERE TO THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTENT, POLITICAL NATURE, AND PRINCIPLES OF INNER-PARTY LIFE.

In inner-party life, particularly in handling the relationships between party members, between the individual and the organization, and between the higher and lower levels, it is necessary to have correct and serious ideological and political principles. It is absolutely impermissible for such negative factors as bad taste, vulgar "relationship networks," and ultra-individualism to endanger the normal life of the party and to undermine the party's vitality. This has been determined by the nature, tasks, and organizational principles of our party.

At the present stage, the ideological content, political nature, and principles of inner-party life are to be chiefly reflected in the following ways: We should unify the thinking, words, and deeds of all party members in building socialism with Chinese characteristics, adhering to reform, opening up, and in economic invigoration, and we should make more contributions to the constant development of social productive forces, the prosperity of the state, and the comfort and happiness of the people; we should analyze the ideological trends inside and outside the party in light of practice in economic construction and all-round reform and use correct viewpoints to answer people's questions about the reform, to promote a genuine exchange of ideas within the organization, to raise our ideological standards, and to consciously adapt ourselves to the needs of economic and social development; in dealing with all major issues, we should adhere to the basic principles guiding inner-party political life and the party's organizational principles, observe discipline and laws in an exemplary way, and safeguard the party's unity; and we should consciously resist corrosion by decadent feudal and capitalist ideas and resolutely oppose all erroneous acts and unhealthy practices that infringe upon the interests of the party and the people.

In raising the ideological content, political nature, and principles of inner-party life, particular attention should be paid to educating and guiding party members in adhering to the four basic principles and upholding the all-round reform and the opening up to the outside world. On this issue, Communist Party members should keep a clear head, take a clear-cut stand,

and be bold, and good at distinguishing right from wrong, and merit from demerit, foster healthy trends, and curb the unhealthy ones. Those comrades who have scored outstanding successes in invigorating the economy and opening up the situation should be supported and commended. We should enthusiastically show concern for and help those comrades who take an active part in the reform and are bold in advancing through experiments. Even if they show some defects or shortcomings in their work, we should also truthfully affirm their achievements, continuously trust them, and help and guide them to learn from experiences and lessons so that they can attain new achievements in reform. Meanwhile, with regard to those who commit all kinds of outrages in the name of reform, we should not spare their feelings but should resolutely expose them, impartially investigate and deal with them, and strictly enforce party discipline.

#### 4. IT IS NECESSARY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS WITHIN ORGANIZATIONS INDEPENDENTLY AND IN A RESPONSIBLE WAY.

Grass-roots party organizations constantly develop and solve their own problems. This is an important guarantee for consolidating unity and increasing vitality. All members of a party organization, and particularly the members of a leading body, should understand the dialectics of party building and, in a highly responsible spirit, strive to raise their ability to find out and solve contradictions in the organization. The higher the ability to solve the contradictions, the greater the vigor and vitality of the party organization.

The numerous contradictions frequently encountered in inner-party life are those between differing views on work and understanding among some comrades and between personal interests and the interests of the party and the people. Generally speaking, as long as we promptly apply the method of positive persuasion, democratic discussion, education, and criticism and self-criticism in handling these contradictions, we can easily solve them. Now, it is necessary for more party members, particularly responsible comrades of party organizations, to boldly take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to solve the contradictions in their organizations and to distinguish right from wrong on the question of principles so as to carry forward the positive factors and overcome the negative ones. In some party organizations, self-criticism is difficult and criticism is even more so. Some criticisms have been made hastily and casually and others have become unprincipled wranglings. The responsible persons there are so afraid of the contradictions that they avoid them altogether. They do not rely on the forces of the organization to solve those problems which they are duty-bound to solve. Even after other people expose the contradictions and after the higher authorities repeatedly urge them to solve the contradictions, they still adopt various attitudes, such as shifting responsibility onto others, stalling for time, and muddling through their work, in an attempt to cover up the contradictions. This is a serious dereliction of duty. There are many reasons for this, such as the absence of a climate in which criticism and self-criticism is regularly launched. They fail to conscientiously implement the system of democratic life and to completely eliminate the lingering fear left over from the "leftist" errors in previous inner-party struggles. Viewed



from a subjective perspective, however, these comrades, who have selfish ideas and personal considerations, are affected by the vulgar "relationship network." Failing to handle the relationship between personal interests and the interests of the party and the people well, they have all sorts of fears, but they are not afraid that they will infringe upon the interests of the party and the people. For this reason, to fundamentally reverse the situation in which criticism and self-criticism are inadequately conducted in some party organizations, it is necessary to rely on all party members, especially the responsible persons of party organizations, to enhance the spirit of being highly responsible to the party, the party's cause, and comrades and to consciously overcome selfish ideas and personal considerations. Party organizations should resolutely protect people making criticism and seriously deal with those suppressing criticism and retaliating against others.

Carrying out criticism and self-criticism and using criticism as a bludgeon to attack people are two things of an entirely different nature. Nobody should turn criticism into a bludgeon and use it to attack people; nor should they look upon criticism as a bludgeon and use it to resist criticism. All comrades should realize that criticism and self-criticism are normal phenomenon in inner-party life. They are needed to increase the vitality of party organizations, to overcome shortcomings and mistakes among party comrades, and for their healthy growth. Therefore, we should not be afraid of criticism and self-criticism, regarding the normal activities of party organizations as a sign of disunity or negating everything about a comrade just because he is criticized.

At present, a few individuals within the party assume an attitude of overtly agreeing but covertly resisting the party's policies of reform and opening up. A few others negate the four basic principles by openly spreading erroneous words that contravene the party program and Constitution. The organizations to which these party members belong should assume political responsibilities. They should adopt the method of patient reasoning and serious criticism to help these comrades so that they can understand that our party is not a club which anybody can join and that to become a Communist Party member worthy of the name, it is imperative to abide by the party Constitution and to stay within the bounds of party discipline. Those who have made mistakes but refuse to correct them should be seriously dealt with according to party discipline. Those who take advantage of their positions to seek personal gains and violate the law and discipline, and those who are morally degenerated should be dealt with in strict accordance with party discipline once they are discovered. Greater efforts should be made to investigate their cases resolutely and thoroughly in order to purify the party's ranks. Those who have violated the law should also be punished according to the law.

##### 5. IT IS NECESSARY TO ENCOURAGE PARTY MEMBERS TO PERFORM MERITORIOUS SERVICES IN THE BUILDING OF THE TWO CIVILIZATIONS.

To increase the vitality of party organizations, it is essential to normalize the activities of grass-roots party organizations and to bring into full play the vanguard, exemplary role of the large numbers of party members. To this end, grass-roots party organizations should regard the work of encouraging

party members to perform meritorious services in the building of the two civilizations as an important aspect of improving inner-party life and increasing the vitality of party organizations. The resolution approved by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee called on party members to be models in five respects. To meet this requirement, the grass-roots party organizations should pay attention to carrying out the following three tasks well:

First, it is necessary to encourage party members to foster new ideas and learn new skills. To play a vanguard, exemplary role in the current reform and opening up and in the development of commodity production, it is necessary for Communist Party members, while inheriting and carrying forward the party's fine traditions, to consciously get rid of the outdated concepts in their minds and to foster new concepts suited to the party's line, principles, and policies in the new period, the reform, and the development of commodity production. In using their vanguard, exemplary role, Communist Party members must have great enthusiasm for work and the spirit of sacrifices. They should know basic Marxist theory and have essential knowledge concerning the party, as well as general and scientific knowledge and knowledge of modern management. Second, it is essential to encourage party members to do their own jobs well and in a down-to-earth way. The consciousness of Communist Party members finds expression not only in their firm belief in communism but also in the fact that they are working in a down-to-earth way for the fulfillment of the common ideal of the people of all nationalities at the present stage. Communist Party members on all fronts and at all work posts should strive to become experts in their lines of work and models in observing professional ethics. They should work steadfastly and diligently, attaining first-rate results. Third, party members must show concern for, and establish close contact with, the masses. Communist Party members should understand the aspirations of the masses, listen to their views, and care for their weal and woe. They should place themselves in the midst of nonparty masses and become their intimate friends. In the joint struggle with the masses, Communist Party members should modestly learn, and constantly absorb nourishment from the masses, enhance their abilities, and affect the masses with their exemplary implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies so that the masses are willing to follow the party.

To improve the regular activities of grass-roots party organizations so that they can be genuinely full of vigor and can constantly increase their vitality, the whole party must make concerted efforts to carry out its work in thorough, painstaking, and sustained way. Party committees at all levels assume an important responsibility over this work. For a certain period of time after the party shifted the focus of its work, party committees at all levels spent more energy delving into economic problems and other professional work and they scored some successes. With the continued advance of the economic restructuring, the functions between the party and the government have gradually become clearer. While concerning themselves with economic work, party organizations should devote more time and energy to party building. They should conscientiously implement the principle that the "party should manage party affairs" and, from the higher levels to the grass roots, help the subordinate party organizations acquire more vitality.

Particular attention should be paid to the building of leading bodies in party organizations. This is crucial for improving inner-party life and increasing the vitality of party organizations.

It should be emphatically pointed out that leading bodies should set an example, and leading cadres should take the lead, in improving the activities of grass-roots party organizations. Party organizations, from the central to the provincial, prefectural, and county levels, should dutifully strengthen their own building and grasp well the regular activities of party organizations under them, particularly those in their units, in order to effectively improve these activities. Leading cadres at all levels should participate in the regular activities of their organizations as stipulated. That is to say, they should regularly hold criticism and self-criticism meetings of leading bodies well and join in the regular activities of the party group or party branch of their units in the capacity of ordinary party members and accept the supervision of grass-roots organizations. If the party organization of a government organ fails to improve inner-party life and to distinguish right from wrong on the question of principles in the party, it has not concentrated on what is of basic importance. Party committees at all levels, including the organization and propaganda departments and the discipline inspection organs, have the duty to guide, inspect, and supervise the regular activities of grass-roots party organizations. Moreover, they should foster the idea of serving others, help grass-roots units effectively solve problems, create favorable conditions, and learn from and spread good experiences.

At present, the general economic and political situation in our country is very good. The building of material and spiritual civilizations and of democratic politics is developing soundly and smoothly. This has created a favorable climate and good conditions for further strengthening the building of grass-roots party organizations and increasing their vigor and vitality. We believe that as long as the whole party makes a joint effort and seizes this opportune moment to consolidate and develop the fruit gained in party rectification and the rectification of party work style, the building of grass-roots party organizations throughout the country will certainly take a big step forward along with the development of the major reforms.

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## GIVE FULL PLAY TO COMMUNISTS' EXEMPLARY VANGUARD ROLE IN CONSTRUCTION AND REFORMS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 87 pp 8-12

[Article by Wei Jianxing [1414 0256 5887]; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text]

### I

In the 8 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, China has experienced tremendous changes unprecedented in history. This is a great time, one in which heroes emerge one after another. Thousands of fine communists characteristic of the brand-new times have emerged in the party, in whom we can see many valuable lofty characteristics and revolutionary style:

First, they adhere to the highest ideals of communism, and possess the spirit of going all out in the struggle for the realization of the grand target of socialist modernization. Our party's highest ideal is to build the communist society, in which the principle from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs is to be implemented. In the present phase, the common ideal of the people of all nationalities in China is to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, and to build China into a modern socialist country with a high level of civilization and democracy. Regarding communists, the struggle for the realization of this common ideal means the struggle for the ideal of communism. Ni Yifang, director of the Anshan No 2 Chemical Industry Works, was wronged politically, but he has always been loyal to the party, and succeeded in dozens of technical renovations despite adversity. Later, he initiated a new carbon black production technique, which has won a reputation in the world. Since he became factory director, he has worked even harder, actively imported advanced foreign technology, and implemented modernized management, with economic results of the enterprise raised continuously. Xu Xiaogang, principal of Lushan Library, Jiangxi, was seriously burned while putting out a fire. With amazing will-power, he has overcome all difficulties of the disabled, and outstandingly completed the work of sorting out a large number of ancient and rare books. He has attended classes of a television university, studied a foreign language, written a thesis, and served the readers with great enthusiasm; hence, he is admired far and wide. The important revelation of the feats

of Comrades Ni Yifang and Xu Xiaogang is that in the new historical period, the progressiveness of communists should be embodied in the unification between the party highest ideal with the common ideal of the people of all nationalities throughout the country in the present phase, and the linking of the common ideal with one's own duty on the post with one's pursuit of life by doing one's work in a down-to-earth way.

Second, they adhere to reforms, work hard to bring forward the spirit of showing respect to science, doing practical work as well as blazing new trails. The all-round reform under way in China is the objective demand of history in progress, and the inevitable road for the completion, perfection, and development of China's socialist system, as well as a complicated and profound revolution. Yang Qihua, director and party committee secretary of the Guangzhou Railway Bureau, is brave and intelligent. Together with the other comrades of the leading body, he has led the workers and staff of the bureau in carrying out a series of reforms. They are bold in implementing the policy of opening up to the outside world, actively unfold lateral combination, and have initiated the Guangzhou-Shenzhen Railway Corporation, with rather good economic results and social benefits. He attaches attention to correctly handling the relations between the state, the enterprise, and the workers and staff by "showing consideration of all three aspects, with the interests of the state given top priority." All this shows the due consciousness, standard, and ability of a party member who is a leading cadre in the course of reforms. Xiao Shousong, director and party committee secretary of Changsha Cigarette Factory, took office under a situation where the enterprise suffered from deficits, its products were unmarketable, its atmosphere was unhealthy, and its management was in confusion. Boldly and resolutely, he has conducted reforms, and led the workers and staff of the whole factory in blazing new trails and making progress. As a result, the enterprise rapidly revived, and has made continuous progress. Since Lu Guanqiu, known as the peasant entrepreneur, took up the management of a universal coupling factory under contract, he has blazed a new trail in building the enterprise that has gained a reputation for its good-quality products through reform. He is bold at making the products of a township enterprise enter the world market, and compete with strong opponents in the course of opening up to the world, and has won honor for China. The advanced feats of Comrades Yang Qihua, Xiao Shousong, and Lu Guanqiu show that communists as advanced elements today must resolutely stand at the forefront of the tides of the times, implement the party principles and policies in a creative way, actively plunge into the practice of reforms, as well as adhere to, push forward, and support reforms.

Third, they adhere to putting the interests of the party and the people above all else, and possess the spirit of willingly sacrificing their own personal interests for the prosperity of the state and the people, as well as their happiness. The basic purport of our party is to serve the people wholeheartedly. Communists have their own personal interests, and party organizations should show concern and consideration for the personal interests of party members. A conspicuous characteristic of fine communists lies precisely in their consciousness of correctly combining their personal interests with the interests of the party and the people. When their personal interests

contradict with the interests of the party and the people, they will unconditionally subject their personal interests to the interests of the party and the people. Piao Shunzi, director of the Department of Gynecology and Obstetrics, Antu County Hospital, Jilin, has covered every corner of Antu over the past 2 decades, delivered one baby after another safe and sound, and rescued the lives of more than 2,000 people who had difficult labor, while her own children were often not given due care. Hang Yuting, party branch secretary of Pengcheng Hardware, Communication Equipment, and Chemical Products Store, Xuzhou, Jiangsu, has suffered from an incurable disease, and undergone 12 operations in succession; but she has no regard for herself, and sends the warmth of the party organization to the heart of every one of the workers and staff. Actively she has explored the law governing the ideological and political work in the new period, and proposed that attention be attached to the principle, service, cordiality, and exemplary nature of ideological and political work. She leads the workers and staff in providing good-quality service for the customers, and has won a reputation as the "iron lady" in the commercial field. Such spirit of being the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, and giving priority to the public and others is precisely the true nature of communists serving the people wholeheartedly.

Fourth, they adhere to studying assiduously in realizing the common ideal, and promoting the spirit of mastering their own professions and actively creating first-rate work. Not only should communists desire to serve the people, but continuously upgrade their skill to render service to the people along with the development of the situation and the changes of their tasks, study basic Marxist theories, and master the knowledge of science and culture needed in doing a good job of their work, including contemporary advanced science, technology, and managerial experiences of the world, which they should test and develop in practice. We have such models who are working in ordinary posts, studying assiduously, working diligently, and have created first-rate work as follows: Engineer He Xianjue, who has been in the ranks of the PLA for more than 2 decades and settled down on the highland, keeps making contributions to the research, development, experiment, and control of China's nuclear weapons; Comrade Ren Yuzhuo, trolley-bus conductor, who studies foreign languages, dialects, and deaf-and-dumb signs in his spare time, serves the passengers full of enthusiasm; Comrade Yang Huaiyuan, steward on a liner, who studies diligently, and keeps improving the means of service and exploring the law governing service, has written a book entitled "On the Science of Service"; Comrade Zhao Ziyue, a veteran movie actor, consciously becomes an odd-jobman of the people, is constantly improving his artistic performance; Comrade Liu Shuzhen, a teacher with a standing of 34 years, has always attached importance to cultural as well as moral education, and dedicated her whole life to the development of the educational undertakings in the mountainous areas; and Deputy Chief Engineer Luo Yaonan, who was the first to propose the "research on the westbound rift valley," which is of great academic value and economic significance, and completed the research together with his colleagues.

Fifth, they adhere to safeguarding the interests of the masses under all circumstances, and possess the daring spirit of fighting against whatever



unhealthy tendencies, and acts violating the law and criminal activities. The struggles against unhealthy tendencies and the crackdown on crimes and acts in violation against the law will run through the whole course of reforms, opening up, and modernization, and be carried out protractedly. Communists should consciously and resolutely take the lead in reform and opening up. They should simultaneously observe the law and party discipline, as well as social ethics, resolutely oppose and resist unhealthy tendencies of every description, and fight against acts in violation of the law and discipline. Yin Boming, Jaixiang County party committee secretary, Shangdong, attaches great importance to dispel the interferences and sabotage of unhealthy tendencies and acts in violation against the law and discipline in the course of developing socialist commodity economy, and adheres to reforms and opening up. He unswervingly organizes investigations and handles each case of leading cadres violating discipline. Over a span of 9 years, he has dealt with thousands of complaints from the masses, supported the supervision of the masses on cadres, and done practical work for the masses. He is not only strict with himself, playing an exemplary role, but also sets strict requirements on his dependents, and no special privileges are allowed them. A communist should be upright, and will always be a loyal guard in defending the party principles and the interests of the people.

Scanning extensively the course of historical development, a large number of advanced elements bold at reforms and blazing new trails would always stand at the forefront of the tides of the times in every period of social change or when the development of science advanced by leaps and bounds. They would unite and bring forward the masses, resolutely open up new paths, and make progress. Many communists and nonparty comrades who have scored remarkable accomplishments in the present construction and reforms are precisely the advanced elements standing at the forefront of the times. With tremendous enthusiasm, party organizations at all levels should support, encourage, and protect their spirit of doing practical work and blazing new trails. Party organizations should commend, and spread their advanced ideas and experiences, and to stimulate all party members and the masses to strive for the realization of the common ideal in a highly effective way. Of course, any person is liable to experience mistakes and deviations in reforms, and advanced elements are not impeccable, either. Regarding their rights or wrongs, their merits and mistakes, we must have a fair evaluation; by no means should we demand perfection. The advanced elements themselves should set strict requirements on themselves, keep close ties with the masses, draw rich nutrients from them, always preserve their advanced quality, and continue to make progress together with the masses.

## II

The key to upgrading the qualities of party members and giving full play to their vanguard and exemplary role lies in the need of party organizations subjecting party members to discipline in the new historical period. The question how the role of party members is given play is a question of qualities, and whether the party spirit is strong or not in the final analysis. The upgrading of the qualities of party members should first rely on the efforts of every party member; at the same time, it is also necessary

to earnestly implement the principle that "party organizations need to subject party members to discipline," and the responsibilities of party organizations at all levels must be strengthened.

On many occasions, the leading comrade of the Central Committee pointed out, party organizations at all levels must grasp the building of the party contingent with the greatest efforts; if the organizational system is incomplete and imperfect, if there is no normal political life, and the organization is slack, no organizational guarantee is possible in the implementation of whatever good principles and policies. With the situation developing and conditions changing, the question how to do a good job in grasping the building of party organizations themselves in order to suit to the new conditions today has not been well resolved. The reasons are manifold; there are problems in the leadership structure, how the energy of leadership should be best employed, as well as problems in work methods and style. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee decided to shift the work focus of the whole party on socialist modernization, party organizations at all levels have devoted their main efforts to grasping economic work, which is necessary. With the deepening of the economic structural reform, party organizations should devote more time and efforts to grasping the building of spiritual civilization, the building of the party organizations themselves, and ideological and political work, while implementing the principle of simultaneously grasping the two civilizations, and showing concern for, and studying economic work.

For party organizations to grasp well the party construction of ideology, organization, and style, tasks in the following two aspects are involved: On the one hand, party organizations at all levels should well control each of their immediate subordinating organizations. It would be dereliction of duty if things within one's domain of duty were neglected, and problems that should be solved were left unsolved. On the other hand, all party organizations should act on the requirements of the party Constitution, make complete and perfect inner-party life, improve the ability of actively and correctly handling all kinds of contradictions emerging among party members and cadres by relying on their own strength. At the same time, they should strengthen their immunity in resisting erroneous ideas and behaviors. At present, some party organizations are weak and slack, lack vigor and vitality as well as independence in their work; when contradictions come up, they will either put them behind or shift the responsibility onto others, or engage themselves in unprincipled argument, and problems can be solved only on the strength of external help. We must be determined to change such conditions as quickly as possible.

Viewing the present conditions, it is necessary to do a good job in the following aspects:

1. WE MUST BE STRICT WITH THE EDUCATION, ADMINISTRATION, AND SUPERVISION OF PARTY MEMBERS. Some party organizations have not yet established normal organizational life system; others hold organizational life meetings, which are, however, not conducted solemnly, and lack ideological, political, and principled qualities, with failure to unfold normal criticism and



self-criticism. Still others are conducted in the way of a routine business meeting, with focus on the study of work only. Besides, some meetings are conducted in the way of gossiping, with nothing significant discussed. We must be determined to establish normal organizational life system in those party organizations, and make the system complete and perfect, so as to guarantee that every party member may receive strict tempering of inner-party life, and be subjected to the effective supervision of the party organization. We must lay special stress on the dual organizational life system for party members who are cadres at and above county level. Back in February 1962 Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, the supervision on party leading members comes from several aspects; from the above, the masses, as well as party group life. Full attention should be attached to the mutual supervision inside the party committee. This is because what one's supervisor or subordinates cannot see daily is most familiar between leading members at the same level. Through these organizational life meetings, they may hold heart-to-heart talks, practice mutual criticism, and be outspoken with their complaints against each other. This is very important to discussing problems, arriving at unanimous views, and making decisions. More than 20 years have passed since Comrade Deng Xiaoping made the above statement; reviewing it today, we find it still of great guiding significance in making complete and perfect the political life of party organization at all levels.

We must be persistent in conducting education among party members, in the vision of seeking truth from facts, with some definite purpose, systematically, and in different tiers. At present, special attention should be attached to educating party members in adhering to the four cardinal principles, reforms, opening up, as well as the development of socialist commodity economy. It is necessary to educate party members in linking the common ideal with their work on the posts, and doing their work in a down-to-earth manner. Party members should be educated in observing the law and discipline in an exemplary way, and establishing fine professional ethics. They should be educated in seeking truth from facts, refraining from empty talk, doing more practical work, and opposing the malpractice of deception. Attention should be attached to practical effects in all educational activities, and formalism should be guarded against and corrected. Regarding approaches, it is necessary to continue to adopt some practices that have been proved to be effective in the past; at the same time, to continuously carry out reform, and to blaze new trails. Hunan has unfolded the discussion on "how communists should give play to their vanguard and exemplary role in the new historical stage" among party members, and the Army units have unfolded the discussion on "what concept of gain or loss should be possessed." Both discussions were conducted in an atmosphere of liveliness with good results. In the course of practice, all localities have founded the system of party members keeping in touch with some households, initiated party schools at town and township levels, as well as part-time study schools and training classes of all categories, unfolded party day activities, and organized party members to see movies, TV shows, and visual recording with educational significance. All these are also worthy of spreading.

2. FURTHER DEVELOP INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY, BE STRICT IN IMPLEMENTING DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, SHOW FULL RESPECT TO THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF PARTY MEMBERS, AND

CREATE A FINE AND HARMONIOUS ENVIRONMENT FOR PARTY MEMBERS TO PLUNGE INTO THE "FOUR MODERNIZATIONS," AND TO GIVE FULL PLAY TO THEIR ENTHUSIASM AND CREATIVITY. If party members hold different views on the party principles and policies, they can put them forth through normal procedures, and they may retain their views so long as they do not violate the principles and policies concerned in their work. If practice has proved such different views are correct, they should be adopted. Regarding the incorrect tendencies in the ideology of party members, they should be corrected; however, the principle of adhering to active enlightenment and convincing others with reasoning should be maintained, by no means should the repetition of "leftist" practices in the past be made. Concerning those party members who insist on their mistakes and refuse to correct them, party discipline should be exercised on them; however, no repetition of any erroneous practices of handling these cases in an oversimplified way and magnifying mistakes should be allowed.

3. PARTY DISCIPLINE SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED SOLEMNLY IN EARNEST. Some negative factors and unhealthy tendencies existing within party organizations have not been corrected over a long period of time, and an important reason to account for it is the slackening of discipline. Now a major erroneous tendency is that some party organizations lack a clear-cut stand regarding party members who have committed mistakes of all kinds, and they have failed to handle those cases properly. We must work hard to overcome such weakness, and be serious about party discipline. In the eyes of party discipline, every party member is equal, and by no means should we tolerate any individual special party member lording it over others, refusing to submit himself to the restriction of discipline inside the party. We should approve the application of withdrawal from the party from those who refuse to exercise the obligations of party members, and have failed to give play to their role; even if they do not send in their application of withdrawal, party organizations should advise them to do so or expel them according to the stipulation of the party Constitution when there is no improvement after education.

4. MAINTAIN THE STANDARDS FOR PARTY MEMBERS DURING THE NEW PERIOD, AND ACTIVELY ABSORB NEW BLOOD IN A PLANNED WAY. To maintain the vitality of party organizations, it is necessary to have normal metabolism. Under the premise of strictly maintaining standards, new party members must be recruited with leadership and focus in a planned way, to gradually improve the age, cultural, and knowledge structures of the party contingent, and the irrational condition in the distribution of party members, and to meet the needs of modernization and all-round reform. The most important thing in recruiting new party members is to guarantee quality. We should resolutely guard against not only "people of the three categories" in the "Great Cultural Revolution," people opposing the party line, principles and policies, and people violating the law and discipline to sneak into the party, but also those who attempt to make use of the party in power to seek personal gains. The strict control of the standards in recruiting new party members is not something passive, but placing the work focus on strengthening the constant education, bringing up, and examination, with emphasis on examining whether the applicants have acquired the loyalty and devotion to the cause of socialism and communism, and the spirit of "willingly suffering from personal

losses" for the "interests of the people," as well as their actual behavior in the building of the two civilizations and reforms. The procedures for the recruitment of new party members stipulated in the party Constitution must be strictly followed, and they should be recruited one by one when one meets the standards, and earnest attention should be attached to the continuous education and examination of probationary party members.

5. PARTY MEMBERS WHO ARE LEADING CADRES SHOULD PLAY AN EXEMPLARY ROLE UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES. Party members who are cadres at all levels, the more than 700,000 party members who are cadres at and above county level in particular, bear specially important responsibilities in pushing forward the party's great cause; and specially strict requirements should be set on them. In the resolution adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, strict requirements were set on cadres who are leading cadres in many aspects. Regarding the demand that the whole society be earnest in promoting lofty communist ideal, the relevant "Resolution" pointed out: Communist members, primarily those who are leading cadres, must resolutely, and earnestly put it into practice. It also pointed out: First, the cadres of party and state organs must be upright and honest, loyal and enthusiastic, serve the people wholeheartedly, oppose bureaucratism, deception, and the abuse of power. Regarding doing a good job in building the party style, the "Resolution" pointed out: It is necessary to work hard on reforms and the completion and perfection of the party organizational and work systems, to strictly exercise party discipline, and to set up and complete and perfect the inner-party supervision system as well as the system of the people's supervision, so that leading cadres at all levels will be subject to effective supervision. The "Resolution" also required party members who are cadres to take the lead in earnestly studying Marxism, and become models among the masses under all circumstances.

Upgrading the qualities of party members in an overall way, and bringing into full play the vanguard and exemplary role of party members have very great significance in maintaining the progressive nature of the party as well as giving a better play to the role of the party as the core and leadership of socialist modernization.

On three occasions at the critical juncture of historical changes, the party Central Committee has proposed strengthening the building of party members' contingent of the party in power, based on the different environments and tasks in different periods. The first occasion took place when the PRC was first founded, and the national work conference on organization was called, with the slogan "strive for still higher standards for communists," and the "Resolution on Consolidating Grass-Roots Party Organizations" adopted, and the eight standards indispensable for a communist drawn up. Later, a party rectification campaign with comparing the eight standards for a communist as the main characteristic was unfolded on a wide scope throughout the country, and the campaign guaranteed the revolutionary tasks at that time and the fulfillment of the First 5-Year Plan ahead of schedule. The second occasion took place under the condition when the socialist transformation of the ownership of production materials was basically completed, and the Eighth CPC National Congress made some new and strict stipulations on the standards

for communists. It is a regret that the line and many correct decisions proposed by the Eighth CPC National Congress were not adhered to in practice. The 10 years of turmoil during the "Great Cultural Revolution" in particular greatly injured the party organization; as a result, many fine party members were ruined, and their vanguard and exemplary role was out of the question. And the third occasion took place when the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee of great and far-reaching significance had fulfilled the arduous task of bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideas, and reestablished the correct Marxist line, and proposed shifting the party's work focus on economic construction and realizing the historical task of the four socialist modernizations. To realize this historical task, the 12th party congress called on the whole party to exert efforts to build the party into the staunch core in leading socialist modernization, and proposed still higher demands for the building of the party itself as well as the party grass-roots organizations and the party members.

The history of socialist construction in China as well as the building of the party itself during this course has made us see clearly that when the development of the party and the state began to enter upon a new period, the party Central Committee always set new and higher requirements on party organizations and its members, so that the party construction might be closely linked with the realities of the political line of a certain period. If the political line of the party was correct, the party construction of itself would develop continuously, and the vanguard and exemplary role of party members would also be given full play.

In the new period of socialist modernization, the party's Marxist line has already been formulated, the party's Marxist line made explicit, and the general layout spread before us, every party organization should consciously build and require itself centering around the party political line. All loyal communists should work hard to realize the pledge he made when joining the party, continuously strengthen his party spirit in the practice of carrying out the party's political line, and unite and lead the masses to strive for the realization of the general task of the new historical period with the noble character and exemplary actions worthy of the glorious name of a communist.

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PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT ACCORD WITH THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD--REVIEWING  
THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN 1986 AND LOOKING FORWARD TO THE FUTURE

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[Article by Ni Liyu [0242 4539 5038]]

[Text] At the United Nations' suggestion, 1986 was a Year of International Peace. In 1986, people of all countries, various international organizations, and many governments throughout the world, including the Chinese people and the Chinese Government, respectively or jointly made appeals and offered proposals on many occasions for peace, disarmament, economic development, and other major issues concerning the destiny of mankind. The appeals and proposals clearly show that opposing wars and calling for peace have become an irresistible historical trend in the development of international relations.

Slight Improvement Has Been Made in East-West Relations

At its 27th Congress held in early 1986, the Soviet Communist Party decided on a new program of action. The strategic intentions of the program are: Strive for a 15-year or longer period of peace to carry out internal reforms, quicken the pace of economic development, and strengthen the overall national power for improving the Soviet position in its rivalry and trial of strength with the United States. To suit the needs of these strategic goals, the Soviet Union adopted some concrete measures in the diplomatic field: It put forward new proposals for resolving issues concerning peace and disarmament; it made requests for actively participating in international economic cooperation; it planned to exchange its limited concession for a slowdown of the arms race and for achieving a proper detente in its relations with the United States; and it made new approaches to Western Europe and Japan. From these measures, we can see that the Soviet Union is moving toward the orientation of attaching importance to its dialogues with the West and that it no longer concentrates on confrontation alone, thus showing reconciliation to a certain extent.

The basic policy of the United States contains the following points: Relying on the past few years' growth of strength to try using the arms race to pin down the Soviet Union in the light of problems in the Soviet Union; using regional rivalries to prevent the Soviet Union from gaining time needed for

the realization of the Soviet "strategy for speeding up development"; and continuing the work of weakening the overall Soviet national power needed in the U.S.-Soviet contention for hegemony.

In 1986, the Eastern and Western countries scored some achievements in certain areas after constantly holding meetings, exchanging visits, and holding dialogues and consultations. From the U.S.-Soviet summit held in November 1985 in Geneva to another U.S.-Soviet summit held in October 1986 in Iceland, there were frequent U.S.-Soviet dialogues and talks at various levels, a relaxed atmosphere emerged within the bilateral relations, and there was further development of economic cooperation and cultural exchange between the two countries. A group of U.S. banking, financial, and business figures led by the U.S. secretary of the treasury visited the Soviet Union in 1985, and private banks in the United States decided in 1986 to provide a \$400 million loan to the Soviet Union. The USIS director visited the Soviet Union to discuss plans for conducting U.S.-Soviet cultural exchange. The two countries also reached a new consular agreement and an agreement on restoring direct air links between them. There was an increase in the number of contacts between U.S. and Soviet personnel. Although U.S.-Soviet relations were once very strained due to the U.S. surprise attacks on Libya, the cuts made in personnel posted overseas, and the expulsion of each other's "persona non grata," both sides finally managed to exercise restraint and did not change the trend of developing and improving bilateral relations. On 4 December 1986, the United States and the Soviet Union began trade talks on the possibilities of expanding bilateral trade and establishing new forms of economic cooperation. On 19 September 1986, after talks lasting 32 months, 35 countries of the East and West blocs at the Stockholm disarmament conference on strengthening European confidence and security reached an agreement on establishing European confidence and adopting security measures. The conference's final document guaranteed against resorting to force, stipulated that the attending countries announce in advance certain military activities, and also contained detailed rules and regulations concerning observation of certain military activities. This was the first East-West agreement on arms supervision since SALT II, concluded in 1979 by the Soviet Union and the United States. The agreement may be able to give impetus to talks on reducing Europe's conventional weapons. During talks held at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Geneva, a proposal for peaceful utilization of atomic energy and for opposing nuclear war was adopted. The 40-nation Geneva talks on disarmament made much headway in the prohibition of chemical weapons and in overall disarmament items. In 1986, CEMA and the EEC held talks to prepare for concluding and signing a treaty on establishing diplomatic relations in 1987. Headway was also made in bilateral talks between the EEC and some East European countries.

However, as U.S. and Soviet strategic intentions have been in sharp opposition to each other and due to serious dissensions between the two countries, U.S.-Soviet talks have so far failed to reach any important agreement. Therefore, the current international situation cannot be described as achieving detente. U.S.-Soviet talks held over the past year and more touched issues in the following four areas: arms control, regional conflicts, human rights, and bilateral relations. Of these, arms control is



the most important. This is because it affects the strategic balance of power between the two sides. The point at issue is about extraterrestrial space weapons. The Soviet Union resolutely insists on eliminating the U.S. SDI, while the United States insists on implementing SDI. By the middle of 1986, U.S.-Soviet talks actually reached an impasse and both sides waited for the other to make major concessions. For a period of time, neither side was willing to budge from its original position. When it looked as if Mikhail Gorbachev would not be able to realize his planned visit to the United States in 1986, the Soviet Union took the initiative in proposing a meeting with the U.S. side in Iceland and the United States immediately responded to the proposal. During the Iceland meeting, due to the Soviet side's concessions in issues concerning intermediate- and long-range guided missiles and cessation of nuclear tests, the two sides' positions were close for a time. For example, the Soviet side abandoned its position on calculating all the U.S. strategic long-range nuclear weapons aimed at Soviet territory, while the U.S. side no longer insisted on an itemized quota of Soviet strategic heavy-duty land-based guided missiles. The itemized quota was aimed at weakening the key Soviet missile force. However, neither side was willing to budge from its original position on SDI. The Soviet side insisted that the SDI issue should be resolved together with other issues as a package deal, while the U.S. side continued to refuse making any concession in its position on SDI. As a result, the meeting broke up in discord without reaching any agreement.

The U.S.-Soviet contention for hegemony has been intense. Because of the current rough balance of military power between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two sides have their eyes on a trial of overall national strength in the next century. Moreover, due to other restrictive factors, both sides do not dare to rashly hit out. As a result, the conditions of U.S.-Soviet relations vary from time to time, strained one moment, relaxed the next.

It seems that U.S.-Soviet talks and race are being intensified. The two countries antagonize each other while holding dialogues, antagonize each other without losing control, and hold dialogues without abandoning contention. These basic characteristics of U.S.-Soviet relations are based on a generalization made by people over the past few years; it is estimated that these characteristics will remain unchanged for a period of time.

#### The Stalemate in Hot Spots Will Remain Unchanged

Most hot spots are in the Third World. Among the internal causes of the formation of such hot spots, there are factors relating to nationalities, races, religious sects, and classes. Some of these factors are left over by history and some have come into being during the processes of actual political and economic development. However, we must not lose sight of the decisive roles played by foreign aggression and interference. Judging from the development of regional situations in 1986, we can see that both the United States and the Soviet Union have made some changes in their tactics of their regional contention. While stepping up the promotion of "Reaganism," the United States established Committee 208 for handling regional conflicts,

publicly gave energetic support to antigovernment armed forces and guerrilla forces in some countries, and mapped out a plan for "low-intensity war." This plan is a method for regional contention and will be implemented under the necessity of fighting a quick battle to force a quick decision. The Soviet tactics are: digest and consolidate achievements already scored; wait for the opportune moment to go in for expanding new spheres of influence; and be cautious and flexible in antagonizing the United States. In 1986, the Soviet Union changed some of its ways of doing things regarding the Third World. It was moderate in strengthening the forces of some countries that offered strategic interests to it, made extensive improvement in its relations with countries that have traditional relations with the West, paid attention to carrying out work through economic and political means, and changed its past practice of stressing military means. Generally speaking, there were no major changes in the situation in hot spots; both sides did not slacken their efforts to go in for contention; and the U.S.-Soviet contention in the Asia-Pacific region tended to intensify.

During the massive dry season offensive launched by Vietnam in Cambodia 2 years ago, Democratic Kampuchea's anti-Vietnamese forces withdrew from the border camps in the west and moved into the hinterland to fight. Now the forces have basically held their ground and they have been more active than in the past. In March 1986, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea put forward the "8-point proposal" for resolving the Cambodian issue through political means. Although the proposal showed great flexibility and won wide support, it was rudely rejected by the Vietnamese authorities. As a result, Vietnam found itself in a more isolated position and the Soviet Union, which supported Vietnam's aggression against Cambodia, also landed itself in a rather passive position. However, their obstinate stand remains unchanged up to now.

Although the Soviet aggressor forces have been in Afghanistan for 7 years, the Afghan resistance forces have been carrying on a very tenacious struggle. The Soviet Union gave enormous publicity to the withdrawal of six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan in 1986. However, this withdrawal does not mean that it really wants to carry out troop withdrawal. The intensification of Soviet "mopping-up operations" and suppressive measures against Afghan guerrilla forces shows that the Soviet Union lacks sincerity in resolving the Afghanistan issue through political means.

The situation in the Middle East has been complicated, changing, and turbulent, and is currently still in a stalemate of no war, no peace. The United States energetically helped to bring about bilateral talks between heads of the Moroccan and Israeli Governments and between heads of the Egyptian and Israeli Governments, and sent Vice President Bush and other important officials to hold consultations with various countries in the Middle East in order to break the deadlock in the Middle East peace talks. All these efforts have failed to get the desired result. While actively carrying out activities in the Middle East, the Soviet Union kept in contact with all the Arab parties that were in conflict with one another, actively reconciled differences within various factions of the PLO, set about restoring Soviet-Israeli relations, and tried to break through the situation in which the



United States pushed the Soviet Union out and undertook the whole peace talks in the Middle East. Although the United Nations adopted a resolution on 2 December 1986 favoring an international peace conference on the Middle East issue, whether it is possible to hold such a conference still depends to a great extent on the attitudes of the United States and other Western countries and the attitude of Israel as well.

The war between Iran and Iraq has been going on for 6 years at the cost of nearly 1 million injuries and deaths and over \$400 billion. This kind of war has seldom been seen since World War II. The war continued to escalate in 1986 and up to now there have been no signs of a truce.

In February 1986, the authorities of South Africa announced the enforcement of a law on the state of emergency and carried out a bloody suppression of the South African people's struggle against racism. In addition, they constantly conducted armed operations to violate the territorial integrity of neighboring countries. The perverse acts of the South African authorities have landed the authorities in an unprecedentedly isolated position. International condemnation of the South African authorities and international sanctions against them are becoming increasingly widespread and intense.

Central America's crisis continued. The United States turned its past policy of relying on military pressure alone into a policy of integrating talks with military pressure. On the one hand, the United States preached the "Latinization" of the Central America issue, and asked Latin American countries to force Nicaragua to sign a peace treaty and to terminate special Nicaraguan relations with the Soviet Union and Cuba. On the other hand, the United States tried in every possible way to support antigovernment forces in Nicaragua. Due to difficulties created by the United States, the mediation conducted by the Contadora Group has bogged down.

#### World Economy Grows at Low Speed

In 1986, the world economic situation was grim and the economic growth rate was lower than in 1985. According to an estimation made by the UN secretary general, the world economic growth rate in 1986 should be 3 percent, which is lower than 1985's 3.2 percent. According to an estimation made by the IMF, the average growth rate of developed countries in 1986 should be 2.7 percent, which is lower than 1985's 3 percent. Japan's reduction in its growth rate is most clear. Japan's growth rate for 1986 is about 2.6 percent, which is far lower than its 1985's 4.6 percent; America's growth rate for 1986 is 2.6 percent, which is slightly lower than its 1985's 2.7 percent; and Western Europe's growth rate for 1986 is 2.5 percent, which is slightly higher than its 1985's 2.4 percent. The developing countries' average growth rate for 1986 is 2.7 percent, which is lower than 1985's 3.2 percent. Although the Soviet Union and some East European countries have made some economic improvements, their growth rates are still relatively low.

There are many reasons for the reduction in the world economic growth rate. The reasons for a lower growth rate in one type of countries are not completely similar to such reasons in another type of countries. Such reasons

even vary from one country to another country. As far as developed countries in the West are concerned, the role played by internal factors was greater than the role played by external factors in reducing their economic growth rates or in creating the economic stagnation of 1986. The sharp fall in oil prices in 1986 brought about improvements in the external conditions for economic development in Western countries. However, due to the lack of any change or even of major change in the internal factors, Western countries failed to promote their economic development in 1986. During fiscal year 1986, the United States' deficits reached \$220.7 billion and its national debts increased to \$2 trillion. The U.S. annual payment for interest on its national debts now amounts to over \$100 billion, which accounts for a large portion of its financial deficits. The major adverse effect on the U.S. economic development was created by this kind of public finance with income falling short of expenditure. Due to the lack of a strong internal demand, Japanese economic development primarily relied on exports. In 1986, with the appreciation of the yen and the development of trade protectionism, Japanese exports faced difficulties, thus bringing about a reduction in Japan's economic growth rate. Western Europe has been accompanied by a low growth rate all along. Rigid economic structures and high unemployment rates have seriously affected Western Europe's internal economic vitality; and the depreciation of the U.S. dollar has also been a factor. There are great differences among developing countries. Overall, the role played by external factors was greater than the role played by internal factors in slowing down the pace of economic development in developing countries. The economic conditions of developing countries further worsened in 1986 to low growth rates of developed countries in the West, the continued fall in the prices of raw materials, and particularly due to the sharp fall in oil price and the intensification of trade protectionism in the West. The low economic growth rate of the Soviet Union was primarily caused by internal factors. The Soviet economic reform is only at an initial stage and faces great obstructions. Therefore, it is very difficult for the Soviet Union to quickly improve its economic growth rate.

During the process of world economic development in 1986, there were two very spectacular issues, namely, the sharp fall in oil price and the depreciation of the U.S. dollar. The sharp fall in oil price first hit at oil-producing countries in the Third World and particularly member states of the OPEC. Member states' income from oil in 1986 may have been reduced by \$60 billion to \$70 billion. After a 6-month "oil price war," the sharp fall in oil prices stopped in August 1986. Exchange rates for the U.S. dollar fell by a big margin in 1986. On 1 July 1986, the U.S. dollar's average exchange rate for 10 currencies of the West fell by about 20 percent as compared with September 1985. Of these, the dollar-yen exchange rate fell by 33 percent and dollar-West German mark rate fell by 24 percent. The fall in U.S. dollar exchange rates struck serious blows at exports from other Western countries, sharpened economic and trade contradictions among Western countries, and created very severe economic and trade contradictions between Japan and the United States. The 7-nation summit conference held in Tokyo in May 1986 emphatically discussed issues concerning U.S. dollar exchange rates and reached some agreements on jointly coordinating and supervising exchange rates. The fall in U.S. dollar exchange rates lasted for more than a year and the falling trend now seems to have stopped temporarily.

Under the grim world economic situation, all types of countries have been readjusting or reforming their economic structures. In 1986, developed countries in the West made great efforts to readjust their internal economic structures and economic relations among them. However, due to the existence of too many problems accumulated over a period of time, the developed countries seemed to have failed to achieve any marked success in this area in 1986. Third World countries also readjusted their economic structures and economic policies: Some of them turned their state-operated enterprises into privately operated ones; some readjusted their national currencies' unreasonably high exchange rates that hampered economic development; some made great efforts to lower inflation rate; and some paid attention to grasping agriculture and increased grain output. Overall, Third World countries did achieve marked successes in conducting internal economic readjustment. The Soviet Union and some East European countries formally announced their decisions to reform their rigid economic systems. They also promoted economic cooperation with Western countries, strived to establish relations with international economic organizations, and began setting up joint ventures with Western countries. While readjusting their economic structures, the United States, Western Europe, Japan, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe all made great efforts to promote plans for developing high technology. The United States did not slacken its efforts to promote the SDI program after the crash of its space shuttle "Challenger" and its rocket "Hercules." Western Europe's "Eureka" program developed by leaps and bounds, and the number of countries taking part in the program increased to 19, together with a total of 109 cooperative items. Japan is currently speeding up preparation to draw up concrete measures for implementing "An Outline of the Policy on Science and Technology." The Soviet Union and East European countries have brought into their medium-term and long-term plans for national economic development all the targets and tasks stipulated by the "Unified Program for the Advancement of Science and Technology." Whether the East and West economic structural readjustments and plans for high technology will be successful or not will affect economic developments in both the East and the West and will also have a profound and lasting influence upon the world economy and the international political structure.

#### New Developments in China's Foreign Relations

In 1986, China became more active in participating in international affairs. During its participation in international affairs, China resolutely advocated peace, development, and dialogue, opposed aggression and confrontation, and put forward its views and proposals regarding peace and disarmament. During a Beijing mass meeting on safeguarding world peace, Premier Zhao Ziyang expounded the Chinese Government's 9-point proposition on international disarmament. China announced its cessation of atmospheric nuclear tests and called for concluding and signing an international agreement on the total ban on space arms. China was one of the countries that jointly proposed the prevention of a space arms race. The two draft resolutions on nuclear and conventional disarmaments put forward by a Chinese delegation were adopted at a plenary session of the UN General Assembly. The Chinese delegation also put forward a 5-point proposal for strengthening international security. During its active participation in international economic

activities, China applied for joining the GATT and attended new trade talks held by the GATT in Uruguay. In addition, China attended the 19th annual meeting of the Asian Development Bank held in Manila and a meeting of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Organization held in Vancouver, and also became full member of these two organizations. To do still better in its economic cooperation with foreign enterprises, China further opened itself up to the outside world and improved investment environment and conditions for foreign businessmen making investments in China.

There has been a more extensive development of China's relations with countries throughout the world. In 1986, heads of states or governments from 23 countries visited China; Chinese leaders Li Xiannian, Hu Yaobang, and Zhao Ziyang respectively visited 17 countries that are distributed over all the continents of the world.

There has been a relatively great development in Sino-Soviet relations in the areas of economy, trade, science and technology, and culture. Chinese and Soviet foreign ministers decided through consultation to restore Sino-Soviet border talks in 1987. However, there has been no substantial progress in Sino-Soviet political relations. There has been a smooth and steady development of Sino-U.S. relations with the strengthening of Sino-U.S. contacts and cooperations in all areas. There has been a further development of China's political and friendly economic cooperations with West European countries. In 1986, new breakthroughs were made in China's relations with five East European countries; party chiefs and heads of state from Poland and Democratic Germany visited China and signed some agreements with the Chinese side. Chinese leaders and leaders of other East European countries exchanged visits and signed agreements on economic and technological cooperation, thus developing friendly cooperation with them. There has been a smooth development in Sino-Japanese relations. There was frequent contact between the Chinese and Japanese Governments and between nongovernmental organizations of the two countries, thus developing Sino-Japanese economic cooperation, increasing bilateral trade volume, and improving investment and technological transfer. There has been a more extensive and deepgoing development in China's friendly cooperations with Third World countries. In 1986, heads of states or governments from 12 Third World countries visited China; Chinese state leaders of the rank of vice premier or of higher ranks visited 13 Third World countries. China resolutely supported the Third World countries' defense of national independence and their struggles against external interferences, and actively supported the Third World countries' efforts to develop their economies. China joined many Third World countries in exploring avenues and methods to promote South-South cooperation in order to solve problems of their own economic development.

In 1987, the two great trends, namely, peace and development, will continue surging ahead; and all kinds of international organizations and vast numbers of large, medium-sized, and small countries will be more active in the areas of peace and disarmament. There will be a further growth of the force of peace; and there will be a further weakening of the superpowers' abilities to control other countries in the service of the interests of their contention

for hegemony. U.S.-Soviet dialogues are unlikely to be suspended but confrontations between them will not be relaxed. U.S.-Soviet relations will fluctuate; and the international situation will develop, now in an acute and now in a relaxed form. There will be an aggravation of U.S.-Soviet contention in the Asia-Pacific region. There will possibly be some development of contradictions between the United States and its allies. There will possibly be some slight improvement in relations between the East and the West but there will be no major change in such relations. In the area of arms control, there will be a remote possibility of reaching any major agreement but the possibility of reaching an agreement on some secondary issues cannot be ruled out. Stalemate in hot spots will remain unchanged. The voice for resolving such stalemate through political means will become more powerful, but it will be difficult to reach an agreement that can be accepted by all parties. It will not be possible to relax U.S.-Soviet relations and the whole international situation.

Countries throughout the world will devote greater energies to solving their own economic problems, and economic factors within international relations will become increasingly conspicuous. The grim international economic situation will remain unchanged, the great majority of countries will have low economic growth rates, and trade protectionism will be aggravated. Although Western countries will continue conducting internal economic readjustments and will readjust economic relations among them, it will be difficult for them to achieve any major accomplishments. There will not be much change in many developing countries' worsening economic conditions. Although developing countries' further readjustment of their economic policies will bring about some improvement of their internal conditions, their external economic pressure will remain unchanged. There will be further development of South-South cooperation. Economic differences between the South and the North and economic gaps among developing countries will continue to expand. The Soviet Union and East European countries will possibly score some achievements in their economic reforms and there will be some development of their economic cooperation with Western countries. China will score new achievements in promoting its reforms, its guiding principle for opening up, and its foreign policy of peace and independence.

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## SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING URBAN CONSTRUCTION

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[Article by Li Peng [2621 7720]]

[Text] 1. Achievements and Experiences in Urban Construction

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, with the deep-going development of economic reform and the vigorous growth of the urban and rural economy, an excellent situation has emerged in our urban construction. By the end of 1985, cities with administrative organs in our country had amounted to over 300, up by 45 percent over 1980; towns with administrative organs had come to 7,000 and more, representing a rise of 160 percent; and the urban population had made up 20 percent of the country's total. During the period, the scale of development of large cities was kept under control in the main, medium-size cities developed rationally, and small cities and towns grew quickly. Urban construction in our country is now developing at different levels in coordination with the distribution of the productive forces.

With the development of our urban construction, the level in governing cities has been greatly raised. Most cities and county towns have their all-round schemes for development and many cities have also formulated detailed district programs and specialized plans in urban construction. As a result, urban construction and the governance of cities in our country are now being carried out in a planned way. Progress has been made somewhat in the urban infrastructure such as tap water, sewage disposal, gas, road building, public transportation, urban afforestation and environmental sanitation. During the Sixth 5-Year Plan, gas output in cities grew by 46 percent, road building by 30 percent, vehicles for public transport by 40 percent, waterworks in cities by 35 percent, and facilities for sewage disposal by 120 percent. Meanwhile, housing construction in cities and towns has expanded on an unprecedented scale since the founding of the republic. During the Sixth 5-Year Plan, more than 640 million square meters of floor space were built in cities and towns, constituting almost 50 percent of the total floor space built in the 36 years since the founding of our country. Over the past few years, the face of large, medium-size and small cities, and even county towns in the remote areas, has greatly changed, with improvement in investment climate and living conditions in varying degrees. The development of urban construction has



given an impetus to the growth of the urban and rural economy, the implementation of the opening-up policy, the progress of reform, and the improvement of people's livelihood. The success can be attributed to the efforts of workers engaged in urban and rural construction of our country and to the support and efforts of different trades and professions as well as all urban inhabitants.

Over the past few years, we have accumulated valuable experiences for urban construction through assiduous investigation and study. The achievements in Tianjin's urban construction were mainly due to the adoption of some practical reform measures in the management system of urban construction. They integrated long-term plans with short-term ones, instead of separating plans from concrete measures for construction. Hefei city has achieved good results in transforming its old part through unified planning, rational arrangements and comprehensive development. In order to develop public utilities, many cities charge their residents for use of some municipal public institutions which are temporarily not sufficient for the people's needs. Meanwhile, many cities also give priority to the development of such public utilities as public transport and water supply. All these experiences warrant careful consideration.

In building socialism, we must follow the socialist road, stimulate reform, uphold the opening-up policy and develop the socialist planned commodity economy. In the current reform, stress must be placed on enlivening enterprises. To this end, there must be some external conditions. We have created some external conditions necessary for enlivening enterprises, but they are not sufficient. One of the major tasks for future urban construction is to create better external conditions for enlivening enterprises, especially to strengthen the building of urban infrastructure so as to build a more solid material base for enlivening enterprises. Apart from external conditions, of course what is more important for enlivening enterprises is that we must reform enterprise management, tap all available potentials, raise productivity, improve the quality, lower consumption of materials and instill greater vitality into enterprises.

## 2. Raise Our Understanding of Cities and Urban Construction

How can we build and manage our cities in a planned way? First of all, we must raise our understanding of urban construction. Comrade Zhao Ziyang has pointed out: The cities should give play to their functions in many aspects. This is absolutely correct. Generally speaking, the cities have such functions as political center, industrial base, trade center, financial center, hub of communications, information center, scientific center, technological center, cultural center and educational center. Cities in our country, large and small, all have such functions in varying degrees, but their functions differ from their different foundation, different levels of economic development and different geographic locations. The ultimate aim of strengthening urban construction is to give full play to different functions of the cities so that they will be able to play a greater role in promoting the commodity economy, raise the productive forces and improve people's living standards.

To give a fuller play to their different functions, the cities should be gradually modernized. A modern city must have a modern material base. Aside from necessary production facilities, the cities should proportionally develop the infrastructure, such as water supply, sewage disposal, road building, public transport, gas, heating, power supply and communication apparatus. They are basic living conditions for urban inhabitants and are necessary for giving play to different functions of cities. Roughly there are three kinds of urban facilities. They are: First, facilities for production and commodity circulation; second, facilities for daily life services; third, facilities for both production and daily life. The three kinds of facilities should be developed in proportion and in an all-round way and none of them should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. In making arrangements for construction projects, industrial projects and urban infrastructure should be coordinated with each other. Meanwhile, despite the reduction in capital construction expenditures, urban infrastructural projects should not be reduced. In planning economic construction, some comrades only pay attention to industrial projects and ignore the importance of auxiliary projects of urban infrastructure. They regard these auxiliary projects as unimportant and "unproductive." This is absolutely wrong.

To develop urban construction and bring different functions and the central role of cities into full play, first of all we must have a scientific and in-depth program for urban construction, which is the blueprint for urban development and overall arrangement for urban construction management work. It is impossible to build cities well without a plan. However, if we have a plan but we cannot enact it strictly, it is still impossible to build cities well. This has been proved by both positive and negative experiences we gained from our urban construction in the past 30-odd years. At present, most cities of our country have mapped out plans for the development. The problem is how to carry the plans into execution in earnest. In carrying out the plans, the cities should do in accordance with their economic resources, but no matter how they do, they should act according to the plans they have formulated. Of course, if new problems are identified in the course of carrying out the plans, we may amend, supplement and revise them. If we can persevere in doing so unremittingly, we will be able to build our cities as we desire. Forming a city is not easy, it needs persistent effort of several generations. We should not be overanxious to get results. There are many departments and units in a city. Each of them should strictly act according to the plans and should by no means go its own way.

Urban planning, construction and management are very comprehensive, which involve different trades and professions as well as every household of a city. Who should be in charge of such a comprehensive job? Of course, the job should be done by city governments. To this point, the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure" points out clearly: "City governments should concentrate on urban planning, construction and management, and on building public facilities and carrying out comprehensive ecological improvement." Therefore, the main duties incumbent on the mayor of a city are to engage in urban planning, construction and management. These are new requirements raised to city governments in the



new historical period. In carrying out reform of the economic structure, we should separate government from enterprise functions step by step. City governments will gradually take up economic work indirectly, instead of taking a direct interest in it. Urban governments should in no way bear a direct part and interfere in enterprise production and operations, but should concentrate on creating necessary business conditions and investment environment for enterprises. However, this does not mean that the mayor of a city should not bother about economic work. Proceeding from actual conditions in our country, mayors and city governments cannot and should not stay aloof from economic development. City governments should be in charge of promoting economic cooperation among enterprises and coordination among different areas and laying down rules and regulations. They should also regulate, direct, supervise and readjust economic activities by necessary administrative means and through decrees, policies and plans so as to ensure the coordinated growth of the economy.

### 3. Relations Between Urban Construction and Economic Development

Urban construction and economic development complement each other and help each other forward. The formation of cities is the result of developing the economy to a certain degree. A smooth-running economy stimulates the formation of cities and lays the material and technological foundations necessary for urban construction. Only when our economy develops to a certain degree will we be able to build roads and houses and unceasingly raise the level of urban infrastructure. If our economy is not developed and we do not have sufficient revenue, how can we develop cities? At present most central and local revenues come from industrial and commercial enterprises in the cities. For this reason, we must first develop the economy and increase revenue in an effort to create more conditions for urban construction. When urban construction is well done, we will be able to expand production and cultural and educational undertakings at a faster pace. At present the infrastructure in many of our cities lags behind, with insufficient supply of power and water, environmental pollution and traffic jamming. All this prevents the economy from developing smoothly. We must therefore understand the importance of urban construction from the angle of the economic and social development as a whole. Economic construction, urban construction and environmental construction should be planned and developed side by side so as to achieve economic results, social benefit and environmental effect simultaneously.

In promoting the four modernizations, every city wants to develop at a faster pace than others, build more infrastructure and create better conditions for production expansion. This is understandable. However, urban construction should be restricted by the level of economic development. Our country is still not very rich and its economic strength is limited. Therefore, the pace of economic construction cannot get too fast and economic construction can only develop at an appropriate pace. During the Sixth 5-Year Plan, construction in the urban and rural areas developed at an unprecedented pace. More than 100 million square meters of new residential housing went up every year in the cities, and the floor space of new housing in the rural areas totaled 7 million square meters. Such a pace of construction has never been

seen since the founding of new China and is rarely seen in the world. Compared with our present economic strength, the present tempo of construction is a bit too fast. To build houses, roads and infrastructure, we must have financial capacity and material resources such as reinforcing steel bars, cement, and timber. It must be realized that our present pace of construction is fast enough. If our construction can continue to develop at such a pace to the end of the century, the face of our urban and rural areas will certainly change greatly.

In urban construction, we should not encourage different cities to vie with one another blindly. Since economic development between different cities and between different areas is not at the same level, the pace and scale of urban construction in different cities cannot be the same. Less floor space of new housing in a city does not mean that its urban construction lags behind. In urban construction, we must be realistic and proceed based on accordance with our financial resources, we should do no more than we can. We should not vie with one another in building high buildings regardless of our own financial resources and requirements, nor should we consume enormous material and financial resources to build fashionable restaurants, first-class dining halls, amusement parks and memorial halls. In construction, we must make the focal projects stand out. We must first solve the urgent problems closely related to production and people's daily life such as water supply and drainage canals, road building, public transport, gas supply, central heating system, power supply and communication equipment. In urban construction we must be realistic and stand facing the future. In saying being realistic, we mean we must stretch our hand no further than our sleeve will reach and solve first the most urgent problems. In saying facing the future, we mean we must have long-term plans; if something cannot be done for the time being, we can accomplish them step by step according to plans. Only by so doing will the cities develop smoothly and in a coordinated way. Some projects of urban infrastructure can be built in advance if necessary, but they should not be too many because it is unrealistic for us to build too many in advance.

In developing cities and towns, we must uphold the principle of "controlling the scale of large cities, rationally developing medium-sized cities and energetically developing small cities." To bring different functions into full play, the cities should be developed to a certain size. However, if they are oversize, many harassing problems such as environmental pollution, inadequate water supply, and acute housing problem will be created. We must therefore be determined to control the size of large and medium-sized cities. With the development of the rural economy and the increase of labor productivity, surplus labor has emerged in the rural areas. However, our policy does not encourage peasants to enter large cities but urges them to develop town enterprises, the tertiary industry and small cities and towns in the rural areas where they live. Small cities and towns are not only production centers of a given region and power centers in the grass-roots areas but also cultural, scientific and educational centers. The development of small cities and towns can promote the growth of the rural economy and reduce the distinction between town and country. This should not be underestimated. Now small cities and towns spread all over the country. This is an amazing achievement.

We are now building socialist cities in line with actual conditions in China. This can prevent peasants from blindly flowing into large cities as happened in capitalist countries and some developing nations, which results in lopsided development of the cities and brings about serious urban "syndrome." We encourage large cities to develop satellite towns so as to disseminate their productive forces and major successes in science and technology and spur on the development of the countryside around them.

At present many cities in our country have erected the structure of putting counties under their jurisdiction. Experience has demonstrated that such a structure is applicable. However, the number of counties put under the jurisdiction of a city should suit measures to local conditions and depends on its economic strength. Generally speaking, cities without fairly strong economic strength should not put too many counties under their jurisdiction, they can add more step by step after their economy grows. On this question, we must take a realistic attitude too.

#### 4. Channels of Raising Funds for Urban Construction

Urban construction needs undoubtedly a certain amount of funds. Without funds nothing can be accomplished. The state has opened up some channels of raising funds for urban construction. They are: 1) Taxes on urban maintenance and construction. Since 1985 all cities and towns with administrative organs, and market towns in the rural areas have started delivering the taxes according to different tax rates, with an average annual total of more than 4 billion yuan. Income from taxes is controlled by the local authorities. Mayors of the cities have decisionmaking powers on the money and they are asked to properly use the money to build projects of urban construction which can produce immediate results and are closely related to production and people's daily life. 2) Surcharge of public utilities, which is used as subsidy for urban construction. 3) State budgetary investment in subsidiary capital construction and local investment in planned capital construction. In addition to this, part of local reserve financial resources and self-raised funds is also used for urban construction.

We may also tap some new sources of collecting funds for urban construction. For example, it can be suggested to appropriately charge for building auxiliary projects for principal parts of new capital construction projects. Every year our country builds a number of capital construction projects, most of them are located in the urban areas. Apart from principal parts, these capital construction projects do not have the auxiliary projects such as sewers, roads, sewage disposal, power and heating. If factories and residential housing are built without these auxiliary parts, they cannot be commissioned. In my opinion, these auxiliary projects should be built as completely as possible even though the size of the principal part of construction projects is a bit reduced. This does not increase total investment but raises the effectiveness of these projects in an all-round way, therefore it is quite reasonable. In subscribing to investments in our capital construction projects, some include auxiliary projects, the others do not. Appropriately charging the capital construction projects without auxiliary parts for building auxiliary projects for them will probably encourage

people to pay attention to auxiliary projects when they make an investment in capital construction. We may also consider to collect fees for use of some urban facilities. For example, we may appropriately collect fees from vehicles traveling large bridges, tunnels and ferries which are built with loans. If we do not collect fees, how can we pay back the loans?

To increase money for urban construction, we must first and foremost expand production and achieve better economic results. Only when production develops will we be able to increase revenue and money for urban construction and maintenance. "People's cities should be built by people" is a good slogan. If the slogan is faithfully applied, it can yield good results. The slogan basically means organizing the people to voluntarily build the cities, or urging directly-benefited units to give the support of manpower, material resources and financial resources within their power. However, they should not discriminately apportion work to the people in the name of the slogan, nor should we compel them to donate money for building mansions, halls, amusement parks, "centers" and other public institutions.

#### 5. Problems Concerning All-Round Protection of City Environments

Urban construction cannot be separated from environment protection. In the national environmental protection, we put the stress on the cities, where the productive forces, urban population and pollution are concentrated. In the course of urban construction, we must therefore carry out construction and environmental protection in an all-round way and side by side so as to achieve economic results, social benefit and environmental effect simultaneously. The cities should be rationally laid out with different districts of functions clearly designated. Faced with a number of problems concerning urban environmental protection, we must concentrate on what is of basic importance and take effective measures to combat air and water pollution, noise and refuse dumps in line with China's actual conditions. Facilities for protecting environmental pollution and principal parts of a construction project should be designed, and built simultaneously. The principle of "those who pollute some places should be responsible for bringing them to order" must be applied. In protecting environmental pollution, the cities should do something substantial every year. If they strengthen management work in environmental protection and enforce the law strictly, problems concerning environmental pollution will be solved satisfactorily.

Urban construction is a matter which concerns not only the departments in charge of urban construction but also some other departments and all trades and professions. It is hoped that all departments, all trades and the whole society will attach importance to, show concern for and support urban construction so as to make positive contributions to urban construction of our country.

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## ON THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE SOCIALIST COMMODITY ECONOMY

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[Article by Liu Shibai [0491 6108 4101]]

[Text] Our country is at present in a transitional stage, moving the old structure to the new structure. The generation of a new economic structure can never proceed smoothly. It not only requires a calm economic environment but also requires the necessary ideological conditions. Hence, in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we must, on the one hand, correctly handle the relationship between reform and development to create fuller economic conditions and a social environment for the transition to the new structure and, on the other hand, vigorously increase the building of a socialist spiritual civilization which includes indoctrinating the broad masses of cadres and the populace on the consciousness of the socialist commodity economy, training them in concepts related to the establishment of the ideological conditions for the smooth development of the socialist commodity economy.

### I

In any form of a commodity economy there exist concepts which reflect commodity production and operational activities. These concepts are to serve the maintenance and consolidation of the commodity economy. Generally speaking, these concepts are:

Barter value concept. To every single production item, based on its barter value consideration is given on its production and production volume.

Market concept. Production and operation for the sake of the market. In the selection and marketing of products, a high degree of attention is paid to consumer needs, and a careful watch is kept on changes in market transactions and market conditions, and sensitivities to market prices.

Profit earning concept, that is, the profit concept. The need to consider whether operational activities can make money.

Equal value concept. Exchange of commodities based on the amount of necessary social labor cost in the commodity. "A commodity belongs to the nature-born equality group," the common principle in the conduct of exchange

is just and fair exchange in accordance with a commodity's value, "cheating neither the elderly nor the young."

Competition concept. Taking price competition, quality competition, striving for economic superiority, getting a hold on the market, and the principle of survival of the fittest as the governing rules of conduct and the philosophy of existence.

Economy concept. Meticulous calculation, economy in expenses and time saving. The demand for time saving is found in any society, but only in the competitive environment of a commodity economy has time saving truly become a prevalent practice and concept.

Operation risk concept. The word enterprise carries with it the idea of an enterprise taking risks. An enterprise operation in a true commodity economy must bear risks.

Efficiency concept. A developed commodity economy requires a high level of efficiency and fast timing whereas a natural economy dilly-dallies in action and is slow in timing.

As a sort of abstract common characteristic, a commodity economy concept exists in all forms of a commodity economy. But an awareness of a commodity economy under different social economic systems generally must manifest the nature of this type or that type of social production relations (first of all the ownership system) and thereby possesses its own character. For example, the small commodity economy consciousness based on the individual private ownership system possesses special features different from the capitalist commodity economy consciousness based on the capitalist private ownership system; and the socialist commodity economy consciousness based on the public ownership system is all the more different in quality from the capitalist commodity economy consciousness.

Under capitalist conditions, the commodity economy consciousness has made further progress. In a commodity economy based on the private ownership system, the commodity economy consciousness is by no means related to a scientific understanding of commodity production relations but is manifested in a fantastic concept of fetishism tainted with a religious color. In a capitalist commodity economy, commodity fetishism, money fetishism and capital fetishism have all become a consciousness lording over mankind. People treat commodities and money as holy things, crazily strive for exchange value and madly engage in seeking value-increments in capital, kneeling before images of their own creation.

Under the capitalist system, the generalized commodity economy consciousness is comprised of the concepts of exchange value, maximum profit-making, competition, and so forth. These concepts have infiltrated the realm of social life, becoming the rules of thought and the highest doctrines governing all people's activities.



As everybody knows, capitalist social relations have universally been commercialized. Commodity relations have not only embraced the whole economic domain but also have expanded to the realm of social life and that of spiritual production. They have put all useful objects (labor products, things of nature such as land and forests and spiritual products) and even reputation and conscience into the sphere of exchange, converting them into commodities. This inevitably leads to an overly free flow on all sides of the commodity economy consciousness. The commodity economy consciousness, particularly the equal value principle and the profit-making principle which form its basis, are not only employed in understanding, evaluating and guiding commodity production and exchange activities, but are also treated as the highest standard for people to use to understand, scrutinize and evaluate all social life, political life and family life. In a capitalist society, the search for exchange value and individual interests becomes, for many people, the life object and world outlook, leading to the commercialization of man's psychology and entire consciousness.

Regarding the capitalist commodity economy consciousness, we cannot start from certain abstract moral principles and simply condemn it; rather, we should evaluate it from the historical and dialectics viewpoints.

On the one hand, it plays an active role in opposing feudalism and rendering services to the capitalist economy. A capitalist commodity economy consciousness combined with the political, economic, and cultural concept of the capitalist class, which is based on democracy, freedom, equality and universal love, forms the consciousness of the capitalist class. This consciousness pattern has replaced the rotten feudalist concept which was based on the hierarchy concept, theocracy concept, autocratic monarchy concept, and so forth, and has completely uprooted the natural economy consciousness which had been firmly implanted in the minds of the people for thousands of years. Capitalist commodity economy consciousness has changed people's modes of thinking, their life styles and special features of their conduct, carving shrewd entrepreneurs out of the modern age as well as functional personages in the various industries and trades suited to the ways of modern production. The active role of capitalist commodity economy consciousness was particularly manifested historically as a bold relief in the replacement of feudalism by capitalism, serving as the progressive spiritual force promoting this transition.

On the other hand, the capitalist commodity economy consciousness also has its passive role. The individual egoism and the money first idea can aggravate the contradictions in social life, lead to a decadent trend and play a damaging role in society's material civilization and spiritual civilization. The passive role of the commodity economy consciousness of the capitalist class is most clearly exhibited in the social life of current capitalist countries where the commodity economy has highly developed.

## II

A socialist economy is still a commodity economy; hence in the historical stages of socialism, there still exists the consciousness of a commodity

economy. This consciousness and mode of thinking of a commodity economy will play an active promotional role in the development of socialist economic construction.

The socialist commodity economy consciousness embodies new and special features different from the capitalist commodity economy consciousness and its petty producers.

A socialist entrepreneur must have a profit-making concept. For example, he meticulously computes the production expenses of the enterprise and seeks to maximize the profits. Yet, this seeking and striving for profits is not for the sake of his own private gain nor for the narrow partial interest of a small group but is socialist profit-making which mainly belongs to the state though still embodying the enterprise's interests and the individual's interests.

A socialist entrepreneur must have a competitive concept. But this kind of competitive concept includes new socialist contents, such as, obedience to laws and discipline, adopting tactics of competition which conform with socialist principles, improving the quality of products, lowering the cost of production and increasing and improving the services; that is, "I have when other people do not have; when other people do have, my goods are better; when others' goods are better, my goods are cheaper; and when others' goods are cheaper, I shift to other lines of production." In addition, it should also include cooperation and mutual aid between enterprises. Hence, a socialist entrepreneur's motive in competition is basically different from the capitalist's concept of competition which calls for the strong overtaking the weak or for unprincipled competitive methods.

A socialist entrepreneur must have a market concept. He must carefully collect market information, adapt to changes in market prices (including anticipated price changes), make active and quick responses, and make prompt and regular adjustments in production and operations.

A socialist entrepreneur must have an operational concept. He meticulously studies the market, continuously carries out the development of new products, resorts to ways and means to open up new markets, and tirelessly engages in lively and liberal business transactions. However, in these socialist operations, he must abstain from monetary dealings or improper methods.

The above-mentioned concepts in a commodity economy of those in charge of socialist production illustrate in a suitable and proper manner the combination of the state's interests, the collective's interests and the individual's interests. This sort of commodity economy consciousness is generally based on the socialist commodity economy and also embodies the necessary ideological condition for the smooth development of a socialist commodity economy.

At present, our country is in a conversion period from an old to a new structure. In its economic life there exist not only the contradictions and friction between the new and old structures but also nonconformity, and even a sharp conflict, between the traditional product economy consciousness

and a natural economy consciousness and the new socialist commodity economy structure and its operational mechanism.

The highly centralized economic structure in force in our country for many years has generated in people's minds certain concepts which do not conform with a commodity economy. For example: 1) A heavy regard for targets in kind and a light regard for targets in value. Added to this is the enforcement of a transfer and allocation system of products and the state's monopoly on purchases and marketing, which has caused people to have little idea of the market and exchange value. 2) Products of state-run enterprises have been subjected to the system of centralized distribution. Value is taken only as an accounting tool and the price of a commodity does not reflect its value, thus causing people to develop a rather slim concept of equal value. 3) Products are subjected to the practices of transfer and allocations and unified purchases and marketing at fixed prices while markets and market mechanisms do not truly exist. The result is the lack of a market concept. 4) The state takes over the profits and losses of state-run enterprises and the latter simply "eat from the same big pot" at the expense of the state; the profits are not linked to the material interests of the individual workers and staff members, thus greatly diminishing the people's concept of profit-making. 5) The enterprises carry out production simply on orders from above; they do not operate autonomously in conformity with changes in market conditions; moreover, enterprises lack the inner motives of responsibility, power and interest while the lack of a market mechanism deprives the enterprises of external pressure. This leads to a diminished operational concept on the part of those in charge of production. 6) Enforcement of the measure of the unified monetary receipt and capital outflow has made the enterprises become unconcerned with the effective use of funds and improvement of the benefits of funds, resulting in a diminished concept of funds (including the turnover concept of funds and the value-increment concept of funds). 7) The system of "everybody eating from the same big pot" and everybody holding one's own rice bowl nullifies the tenet of the survival of the fittest since good or bad performances and profits or losses are treated alike. This results in people not knowing what competition is like and in being completely deprived of the concept of risks. In short, the various kinds of concepts mentioned above, found in the minds of cadres, workers, and staff members of state-run enterprises were the inevitable product of the old economic structure which has been in force in our country for many years. Due to the character of laziness, originally fixed in the form of consciousness, plus the low level of the productive forces in our rural areas and the nondevelopment of division of work, the tradition of the natural economy has seriously continued to exist, forming a situation in which people lack the concept of a commodity economy or see it only in a very diluted state.

But this is the present condition: Even though the whole social economy is increasingly geared to the track of the commodity economy, many people are still holding to their old concepts and using the outdated and regressive mode of thinking to examine and judge things and to guide their own economic activities. This is manifested as follows: 1) Since a portion of enterprises have enforced measures to liberalize their product's prices and they

have become less subjected to mandatory planning, these state-run enterprises have, in reality, already been pushed into the market, and the marketing conditions of the products as well as the growth or slowdown and success or failure of the enterprises have closely relied on the market. Still, the leadership personnel of certain enterprises, due to the lack of a market concept, instead of concentrating the whole enterprise's activities on this hot spot in the market, have followed the set of old rules, putting their efforts simply on production, seeking production value and disregarding sales and marketing. Even though the market has reached the saturation point, they have still continued to expand production and blindly taken up new projects. 2) Due to a lack of operational concepts, people have not become versed in thinking up measures, or in tapping the enterprise's internal potentials, or in expanding the scope of production and operations, developing diversified operations, opening up new products, striving hard to maximize output, and at the same time paying close attention to advertisement and propagation, improving packing methods, maintaining and protecting the enterprise's reputation and studying marketing thoughts. Rather, they have gone step by step, worked assiduously according to the rules, resulting in ossification of the forms of production and operation and in the prevalence of the work style of "worker-officials" and "merchant-officials." 3) Some people are not accustomed to competition and do not dare to take risks. Under the conditions of the market mechanism, which champions the survival of the fittest, initially playing its role, they have failed to demand themselves to maintain an active attitude, to greatly renovate the production technique, to strengthen operations and management, to market new products, to strive for their products to be cheap in price and good in quality, and generally to augment their products' competitive power in the market. Rather, they have been passively waiting for financial assistance from the state and support in the form of loans from the banks. 4) Due to the slender and weak profit-making concept, people do not set as their direct objective, under the preconditions of abiding by the planned guidance of the state and observing the state's guidelines and policies, the maximization of the profit earnings and work toward this objective by means of making meticulous calculations in operations, lowering the cost of production, making great renovations in technology, rigidly enforcing labor discipline and strengthening production activities. Rather they are satisfied with the mere fulfillment of the plans while some people may even harbor the belief that enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people do not need to strive for profits. Quite obviously, if those in charge of the state-run enterprises rigidly adhere to the above-mentioned traditional concepts, they will be quite unable to correctly assess the usefulness of the new type of relations of a socialist commodity economy and the new operational mechanism. It would be impossible for them to suit their own actions to the demands of the new economic form and they might even be unable to comprehend and understand the new structure and become passive in their actions.

If we extend our views to the vast rural villages, we can see that the concepts of the natural economy are deeply implanted in their minds--such concepts as self-sufficiency and self-content, caring for consumption only and disregarding savings and accumulations, being attached to their native

land and unwilling to leave it, lacking the desire for advancement, being easily satisfied, and so forth. These concepts have, in effect, become heavy impediments to the further vigorous development of the rural commodity economy.

For the sake of smoothly establishing a new structure for a planned socialist commodity economy, we require a conscious and intensive change and reform to take the lead. At present, certain traditional concepts have increasingly come into vigorous conflict with the development of the socialist commodity economy. Promptly eradicating these traditional concepts and setting up new commodity economy concepts will become an important condition for reducing the "labor pains" in the birth of the new economic structure.

### III

At present, on the one hand there is the problem of the weak concept of commodity economy, while on the other hand in the minds of certain people the consciousness of the old commodity economy still remains. Moreover, in recent years, following the development of a commodity economy, this kind of consciousness of the old commodity economy has grown and spread in certain definite areas. This is manifested in: 1) A profit-making concept disregarding the interests of the whole. In implementing such a concept, the managers and heads of certain enterprises, anxious in their search for their respective units' interests, have resorted to making false reports, such as reporting false cost of production figures, detaining the remittance of profits, selling fixed assets to increase the granting of bonuses, damaging the state's interests and leading to various irrational acts on the part of the enterprises. 2) A competitive concept in operations which disregards the consumers' interests. If instead of relying on scientific management, renovating technology and developing new products, improving the labor productivity rate and lowering the cost of production to improve their competitive power, some enterprise leaders would rather seek their own interests through various ways and means, taking the easiest and fastest lanes, using loopholes in policies and statutes, relying on certain propaganda tactics which are flashy but unsubstantiated, arranging big deals, and even lowering the quality of products, inserting false goods as real ones, imitating others' trademarks, harming the consumers' interests and damaging their opponents' good reputation, and so on. 3) Ideological individualism and the worship of money. Following our country's development of a commodity economy and the opening to the outside, some people, unable to resist the corrosion of rotten capitalist ideas, have lost their communist and socialist ideals, harming others to benefit themselves, and have fattened their pockets at the expense of the public purse. Some individuals even employ their power to seek private gains, violate laws and discipline, cheat and extort, bribe and accept bribes, commit acts of corruption and larceny, and generally abandon their individual character for the sake of money. Furthermore, some even go to the extent of extending the capitalist ideas of money first to the social and political areas and to family life, giving rise to many passive phenomena, impeding and damaging the development of socialist socioeconomic life and human relations, and causing certain people's thoughts and behavior to become vulgar.

In short, following the generation and development of the new structure of our country's socialist commodity economy, the realm of our country's economic consciousness is undergoing an extremely intensive change. People can readily see that in the midst of our country's state-run and collective enterprises, a contingent of socialist entrepreneurs imbedded with a thick commodity concept and a developing spirit is mounting the rostrum of the economic theater. They [the entrepreneurs] have begun to employ a new socialist commodity economy consciousness to guide production and operational activities. Under the guidance of party guidelines and policies, progressive elements of certain individual units and specialized units, in the course of developing production and operations beneficial to the socialist commodity economy, have been capable of correctly handling the relationship between the interests of the state and the individual. But it is also seen that the development of this new commodity consciousness coexists with the breeding and spread of the old commodity economy consciousness inherent in the minds of certain people. This coexistence and contradiction between these two consciousnesses has become a phenomenon attracting people's attention in this period of the transition from the old economic structure to the new one.

In this new period of our country's vigorous development of the socialist commodity economy, why is it that in the realm of consciousness the old commodity economy consciousness can still grow and can even spread spontaneously? Some comrades have said that as long as a commodity economy exists there is bound to be an old commodity economy consciousness and that inevitably this will generate the fetishist concept of money first and capitalist ideas and acts of seeking only interests and profits. Such an observation needs to be further explored. The profit-seeking acts of commodity producers are not equivalent to the capitalists' acts of seeking only money and harming others to benefit themselves. It should be said that a commodity economy necessarily generates and breeds a general type of commodity economy consciousness. Only a capitalist economy, which is based on the squeezing of surplus value, can breed in people's minds the capitalist commodity economy concepts of money first and seeking only money and profits. But in a commodity economy based on the public ownership system, production, exchange and distribution all manifest socialist interests and there is no economic ground for the growth of a commodity economic consciousness of the capitalist class.

There are two reasons for the existence, and even the spread within a stated period, of the old commodity economy consciousness: First, the existence of nonsocialist commodity economic forms. At the present stage in our country, an individual economy still exists, and to a certain extent, a state capitalist economy also exists. In certain regions, a private economy which hires workers for its operations likewise exists. Since these types of commodity economies are related to the private ownership system, it is inevitable that the old commodity economy consciousness which centers on seeking individual interests is generated. The existence of capitalist ideas in the minds of certain people and the infiltration of capitalist commodity economy consciousness from abroad constitute the ideological basis for the growth and spread of the old commodity economy consciousness. Even



internally in an economy under the public ownership system, people with unhealthy thoughts may also use the pretext of developing the socialist commodity economy to satisfy their private desires. For example, they may borrow the principle of implementing the individual's material interests to put the individual's interests first; or, taking advantage of the strengthening of the functional role of money under the new structure, they may practice the worship of the image of money. In short, the rise of the old commodity economy consciousness aside from the reason of the existence of old commodity relations, is caused by ideology and consciousness and should not be attributed to the inevitable secretion of the socialist commodity economy.

The capitalist class commodity economy consciousness has certain corrosive effects on socialist entrepreneurs and workers. It impedes people in the commodity economy from correctly handling the relations between the state, the enterprise and the individual; it leads to the growth of irrational acts among enterprises, and thereby hampers the development of the commodity economy smoothly and healthily and along the correct lines. Hence, in vigorously developing the socialist commodity economy, we have come face to face with a new mission in ideological construction, namely, nurturing and developing a civilized and healthy socialist commodity economy consciousness. Socialist commodity producers and entrepreneurs must eradicate the consciousness of paying scant regard to profit-making and to the role of the market and their fear of competition. They must establish various concepts which are guided by socialist ideas such as the exchange value concept, equal value concept, market, competitive concept, and concepts of cost accounting and of seeking profits so that they will possess the economic brains of socialist entrepreneurs and form a correct mode of thinking to correctly examine and assess the complex process of a commodity economy and so that they will correctly guide their own actions. If universally we can set up such a socialist commodity economy consciousness, then we will be creating important ideological conditions for the smooth transition to the new economic structure.

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## ZHOU ENLAI'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE XIAN INCIDENT

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[Article by Li Haiwen [2621 3189 2429]]

[Text] The Xian Incident initiated by Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Fu-cheng was a turning point in modern Chinese history. Its outbreak and eventual peaceful settlement reflected an inevitable historical trend, as well as a result of the mutual reaction of all kinds of political forces; and the CPC was one of the irreplaceable main forces. As the CPC Central Committee plenipotentiary, Comrade Zhou Enlai accepted the mission in the face of danger, showed no fear confronting abrupt changes, acted as the occasion demanded, and made great contributions to the peaceful settlement of the Xian Incident.

### I

On 12 December 1936, Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Fu-cheng led the Northeast Army and 17th Route Army in launching the Xian Incident. They held Chiang Kai-shek in detention, aiming at forcing him to resist Japan. When the incident broke out, China was facing two basic futures: Either a halt to the civil war, and unanimous resistance against Japan; or the leading to a still larger scope of civil war, and providing a chance for Japanese aggression in China. The crux of the matter was how to handle Chiang Kai-shek. Based on the decision to press Chiang to resist Japan, as determined in September 1936, the CPC Central Committee took into consideration this issue in envisioning to promote resistance against Japan, realizing peace, and accomplishing the most favorable results for the state and the nation.

On the very day when the incident broke out, Chang Hsueh-liang sent a telegram to the CPC Central Committee, asking the CPC and the Red Army to send their representatives to Xian for a discussion on the major plan for resisting Japan and saving the nation. Immediately, the Central Committee called a meeting. The Xian Incident was unanimously affirmed, and the decision to actively support it was adopted. In his speech, Mao Zedong said: Although the incident was initiated by Chang and Yang on their own, without CPC participation, the incident aiming at resisting Japan was revolutionary, and free of any imperialist interference; and the situation in which Chiang Kai-shek dominated everything would be changed from then on. In his speech,

Zhou Enlai made an analysis of the possible repercussion from all domestic and foreign forces and their entangled and complicated relations. According to him, Japan was likely to start a coup d'etat in Nanjing, and to reinforce its forces along the coastal areas. Thus, the conflicts between Japan, on the one hand, and the United States and Great Britain, on the other, would be aggravated. The United States and Great Britain would eventually support the factions resisting Japan as well as the middle-of-the-roaders inside the Nanjing government, while the Soviet Union would support us as soon as the United States and Great Britain expressed their stand. Based on such an analysis, he proposed the CPC position regarding all KMT inner-party political factions; namely, we should refrain from political antagonism with the Nanjing government to prevent Japan turning it into a puppet government. It was necessary to stabilize and win over the Whampao faction, the CC faction, the senior statesmen faction, as well as the pro-European and pro-U.S. factions, and to seek their sympathy for the Xian Incident in order to unite agreement and resist Japan. Specifically speaking, we needed to win over Lin Sheng, T.V. Soong, Kung Hsiang-hsi, Sun Fo, and Feng Yu-hsiang, but to isolate Ho Ying-ching. At the same time, we had to mobilize a mass in-depth movement and to do a solid job in uniting the tripartite anti-Japanese forces in the northwest, and to turn Xian into a center of resistance against Japan. Under the slogan of supporting Suiyuen and resisting Japan, we had to unite Yen Hsi-shan and Liu Hsiang (they were to be our two wings), and further unite the Guangxi forces in order to encircle east China. The seven provinces in southeast China were the Nanjing government's sphere of influence, as well as our targets to be united; we had to win them over to the resistance against Japan. The meeting approved of Zhou Enlai's analysis and views. In view of Chiang's dual features of resisting Japan and countering the CPC, as well as the military situation at that time, it was decided not to launch a frontal opposition against Chiang, to refrain from political antagonism with the Nanjing government, and not to organize an opposition government in Xian, in order to fight for the best future, halt the civil war, and unanimously resist against Japan. Taking into consideration the fact that the Baoan was located in a remote region without accessibility to information, which might cause a failure in acquiring overall and prompt information regarding the situation in Xian, and the domestic and foreign repercussions, the CPC Central Committee decided not to issue a statement, and left everything in Zhou Enlai's charge, including the handling of Chiang Kai-shek and all complicated problems difficult to estimate. Zhou was acting as the occasion demanded upon his arrival in Xian.

On 15 December, the Central Committee sent a telegram to the KMT and Nanjing government signed by the commanders of the Red Army, appealing for a peaceful settlement of the Xian Incident, and announcing that Zhou Enlai was to be sent to Xian to assist Chang and Yang to deal with the incident. Early, at dawn that very day, Zhou Enlai shouldered this great mission and left Baoan, taking along with him a staff of 17, including Luo Ruiqing. The journey took 3 days, and they arrived in Xian by the evening of 17 December.

## II

As soon as Zhou Enlai and his company arrived in Xian, he held talks with Chang Hsueh-liang almost immediately. Having listened to Chang's briefing on the situation in the previous 6 days and the repercussions from all sides, Zhou found that the situation was far more complicated and severe than his estimation in Baoan. The pressing matter of the moment was how to deal with Nanjing's military offensive and to decide on a plan to handle Chiang Kai-shek. This had a bearing not only on the success or failure of the Xian Incident, but the fate and future of the nation. Zhou and Chang made a prompt military decision. The main forces of the Northeast Army and 17th Route Army would gather along Xian and Tongguan, while the Red Army would march south along Yanan and Qingyang to replace the Northeast Army. The Hu Zongnan troops would be attacked when necessary to support the Shaanxi Central Plain. For the convenience of the tripartite forces' joint action the Red Army was to join the Northwest Military Commission of the Anti-Japanese Union Army newly founded by the joint forces of the Northeast Army and 17th Route Army. Thus a situation of the tripartite forces took shape politically and organizationally, with the participation of the Northeast Army, the 17th Route Army, and the Red Army; and Xian's status was temporarily consolidated. Regarding the handling of Chiang Kai-shek, Zhou Enlai believed that Chiang was head of the Nanjing government, and only Chiang was capable of putting a halt to Ho Ying-ching's punitive expedition, commanding the anti-Japanese factions and the middle-of-the-roaders inside the KMT, and avoiding the Nanjing government's turning into a puppet government. Releasing Chiang under the premise of his agreement to unite with the CPC and resist Japan would be favorable in putting an end to the civil war, and pushing forward the resistance. For this, Zhou Enlai expressed the CPC stand: It was necessary to guarantee Chiang's personal safety; however, strategically, a statement should be made that Chiang's personal safety would be hopeless if Nanjing should start a civil war. This policy would press Nanjing to halt the civil war and to realize peace on the strength of Chiang's status, while taking advantage of the Chiang-Ho conflict to achieve the aim for forcing Chiang to resist against Japan.

The decision to release Chiang was thus determined. But how were they to break up the deadlock between Xian and Nanjing, and to make Chiang aim at uniting with the CPC and resisting against Japan? On the evening of 17 December, Zhou and Chang decided on five conditions in the negotiations with T.V. Soong, who would soon arrive in Xian. The five conditions basically fell in line with the Chang-Yang 8-point proposal, and the only difference was this explicit clause: "T.V. Soong should take charge of founding the Nanjing transitional government, and eradicate all pro-Japanese factions." On 20 December, T.V. Soong arrived in Xian on a personal trip. When he learned of this proposal, he acted all the more enthusiastically upon his return to Nanjing. T.V. Soong was a figure acceptable to all sides. When Xian asked Soong to form a cabinet, it became a turning point in promoting the change in Chiang Kai-shek's position.

As soon as his talk with Chang Hsueh-liang was over, without taking a rest Zhou Enlai started to work on a telegram to the CPC Central Committee to

report developments in the state of affairs, his analysis of the situation, and the measures to be adopted as decided upon between Chang Hsueh-liang and him, so that the Central Committee could promptly grasp the new trends developing in the situation, make rapid decisions, better guide his work in Xian, and best affect the development of the Xian Incident. On the next day (18 December), the CPC Central Committee issued its first declaration, and sent it as an open telegram to the KMT Central Committee. They appealed for a peaceful settlement of the Xian Incident, and proposed the convening of a congress on resisting Japan and saving the nation. Upon receiving the second batch of telegrams from Zhou Enlai, the CPC Central Committee sent a second open telegram, proposing to change the congress on saving the nation to a peace conference, and to change its site from Xian to Nanjing. It was actually to acknowledge the leadership of Nanjing in the whole country and to give up the idea of turning Xian into a center of resistance against Japan. On 21 December, the CPC Central Committee approved Zhou Enlai's plan, and proposed the conditions for talks with the Nanjing government. This proved that Zhou Enlai played a very important role in drawing up the series of decisions made by the CPC Central Committee.

On the morning of the next day after Zhou Enlai's arrival to Xian, he visited Yang Fu-cheng. In view of the latter's misgivings, he explained the domestic situation to him in full details. The fight against fascism and resistance against Japan to save the nation was an inevitable trend. The fact was that Chiang Kai-shek might survive if he would resist Japan; otherwise, there would not be a way out for him. So long as the tripartite forces in the northwest remained united and became powerful, it would be very difficult for Chiang to seek vengeance. Zhou also made wide contacts with personalities in all circles including Yang Ming-hsuan and Tu Pin-cheng, and received responsible persons of the CPC underground organizations, explaining to them the decision of the CPC Central Committee concerning the peaceful settlement of the Xian Incident. The fact that the CPC would bury the hatchet, with the broad vision of attaching importance to the just cause of the nation won the admiration of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Fu-cheng, and promoted a progressive people to accept the principle of a peaceful settlement. Xian's decision for a peaceful settlement supported the faction advocating peace in Nanjing. Ho Ying-ching had to send T.V. Soong and Soong Mei-ling to Xian to conduct talks on behalf of the National government; hence, the door to negotiation was opened.

The Soongs arrived in Xian on 22 December, and the talks began between the Nanjing government on the one hand, and the Xian tripartite forces on the other. During the negotiations between Chang Hsueh-liang, Yang Fu-cheng, T.V. Soong, and Soong Mei-ling, Zhou Enlai made his six-point proposal. Both parties agreed to conduct the talks based on this proposal. Chiang Kai-shek had not expected the CPC to sincerely want peace; it pushed forward his acceptance of the proposal to unite with the CPC to resist Japan. Although Chiang did not personally take part in the negotiations, he kept saying that he would guarantee them with "his personality as the leader" to keep his promises made during the negotiations. In the course of the negotiations, Zhou Enlai had two long talks with Soong Mei-ling, and fully explained the CPC's stand and principles, which played a positive role in pushing forward the change in Chiang's position.

In the course of the talks, disputes existed between the two parties concerned on when to release Chiang. Xian held the view that Nanjing should first withdraw its troops from Tongguan before Chiang's release; while Chiang and the Soongs advocated that Chiang be released first before a withdrawal began. Zhou Enlai held the view that Chiang should not be released in haste, and insisted on Chiang issuing "a political document before his release" to guarantee a situation which would genuinely put a halt to civil war and unanimously resist Japan. He told Chang Hsueh-liang that Chiang would allow men of letters to oppose him, but never soldiers; and the assassination of Teng Yen-da served as evidence. It was necessary to guard against Chiang's evil designs. However, Chang Hsueh-liang was worried about Chiang's personal safety, should the latter stay in Xian too long and should an accident take place. He believed it would be unfavorable to the state and the nation. Besides it would be rather difficult to convince his troops on the question of releasing Chiang. Therefore, he made the decision to personally escort Chiang back to Nanjing without consulting the others on the afternoon of 25 December, disregarding his own safety and the future of the Northeast Army. That afternoon, Zhou Enlai heard that people were frequently visiting Chiang at his residence, while Zhou was staying in the East Building at Jinjiaxiang. But before everything was clarified, he heard the sound of airplanes. It was only then that Zhou Enlai suddenly saw the light. A report soon came saying that Chang Hsueh-liang had left to escort Chiang back to Nanjing. It was out of good intentions that Chang Hsueh-liang took this action. However, his decision to escort Chiang back to Nanjing made things more complicated in the development of the state of affairs, and eventually led to a historical tragedy. Zhou Enlai deeply regretted what had happened, but that could not be undone.

### III

When Chiang returned to Nanjing, he went back on his word and announced the detention of Chang Hsueh-liang, and dispatched his troops to Xian on the offensive. When his ranks in battle array were deployed, he proposed two projects as solutions to Xian: According to Plan A, the Northeast Army would be stationed in Gansu, the 17th Route Army north of Wei He, and the Red Army would turn back to north Shaanxi. According to Plan B, the Northeast Army would move east to Anhui and the Huai He valleys, the 17th Route Army would be stationed in Gansu, and the Red Army would return to northern Shaanxi. Chiang attempted to disintegrate the tripartite forces of the Northeast Army, the 17th Route Army, and the Red Army through military oppression, and political demoralization.

In the face of such a grave situation, Zhou Enlai believed that the Xian tripartite forces were in an unfavorable situation of military strength compared with Nanjing. If they forced themselves to fight, they would only lose the peaceful situation they had already won, which was favorable to uniting resistance against Japan. But if they united and stood at combat readiness, Chiang Kai-shek, who had already learned a lesson in the Xian Incident, would not dare launch a civil war in the face of the will of the people. Politically, they needed to expose Chiang's breach of faith, to take advantage of the 3d Plenary Session of the 5th KMT Central Committee



to be convened soon, to appeal for the rescue of Chang Hsueh-liang, and to push forward uniting with the CPC to resist Japan. Therefore, Zhou Enlai immediately consulted with Yang Fu-cheng, and Wang Yi-tse, and made an emergency deployment of the northwest tripartite forces, with seven defensive lines formed. On 1 January, he sent a telegram to the CPC Central Committee to dispatch the Red Army to the Shaanxi Central Plain in their support. Between 8 and 9 January, the Red Army arrived in the areas of Sanyuan, Yaoxian, and Xianyang. This gave great support to our friendly forces, and stabilized the situation in the Shaanxi Central Plain. Chiang Kai-shek would not dare act rashly, seeing the strength of the tripartite forces. With comfort, Chang Hsueh-liang said: I did not expect that Xian could have been maintained so long. So long as Xian survives the crisis, there is the possibility of my returning there.

However, disintegration began as soon as the military deployment of the northwest tripartite forces was completed. First, the Northeast Army was left without a commander in chief, and the two factions long existing inside the army gradually made no concession to each other, each going its own way. The few high-ranking commanders headed by Wang Yi-tse wanted a peaceful settlement, while the majority of the army commanders believed that the CPC was weak and not so influential. They were unwilling to join forces with the CPC, and demanded the implementation of Chiang Plan A, and demanded to leave the northwest for more fertile regions. Young officers of the Northeast Army were all for uniting to resist Japan; though among them there were a small number of people who were inexperienced in politics, and radical in their thinking. They failed to understand the truth that only with the unanimous unity of the Northeast Army and the adherence to the northwest tripartite forces would it be possible to help Chang Hsueh-liang return to them. They were all for fighting a bitter war, and would not think of either plan. By the latter part of January, the view of "fighting a war" gained the upper hand in Xian. Yang Fu-cheng would not interfere with the Northeast Army ever since Chang Hsueh-liang had been held in detention, but he hoped that Chang would return and sustain the situation with him. Yang was for saving Chang through a peaceful settlement, but at the same time showed sympathy for the earnestness of those advocating war to rescue Chang.

Zhou Enlai was Chang's and Yang's guest, and was not in the position to interfere with the internal affairs of the friendly forces, or give them orders. All he could do was to offer friendly advice, give them directional guidance, and harmonize relations of all respects. Zhou had written to Chiang Kai-shek twice, demanding the withdrawal of his troops and Chang Hsueh-liang's release or his assignment to some public office, in order to ease the impending civil war. Zhou made use of every situation in Xian to talk with personalities of the upper strata, attend meetings of the Northeast Army, the 17th Route Army, and mass organizations, and repeatedly spread the idea that it was necessary to take the whole situation into consideration, and to resolutely implement Plan A and a peaceful settlement, pointing out that a war would not be favorable to rescuing Chang, and so long as the tripartite forces were maintained, Chang would one day return. He exerted great efforts to persuade the faction advocating war; it was convinced

momentarily but would return to its old stand again and again. Those people just would not listen, and were bent on their own will. They wanted the Red Army to help them fight, otherwise they would split with the CPC. On the morning of 2 February, Sun Ming-chiu, Ying Te-tian, and Miao Chien-chiu ran the risk of killing Wang Yi-tse. The action intensified the internal conflicts in the Northeast Army, the rumors were flying inside the city of Xian; the whole situation was tense. If the internal disorder in the Northeast Army resulted in them killing one another in Xian and even on the Shaanxi Central Plain, the Central Army would take advantage of the confusion to suppress them, and a civil war would inevitably start again, and the result of the Xian Incident would come to naught.

At this critical juncture, Zhou Enlai showed not the least fear facing the difficult situation, and went in a hurry to the residence of Wang Yi-tse, disregarding his own personal safety. He found Wang lying in his own blood, and the whole household was in utter confusion. Together with Li Kenong and Liu Ding, Zhou took care that the funeral was properly conducted, and consoled the survivors. When the news about this spread, all rumors about the CPC were quieted. Later, Zhou Enlai consulted with Yang Fu-cheng again on dealing with the aftermath of the killing. On this basis, Yang sent his people to Tongguan to hold talks with Ku Tsu-tung, and aimed at a peaceful settlement and the implementation of Plan A. At the same time, Zhou Enlai sent Liu Lanbo to the front to seek revenge for Wang Yi-tse; to tell the truth, and explain the pros and cons to Division Commander Liu Tuo-chuan, who was marching toward Xian, and to ask him to withdraw his troops. To safeguard unity and peace, Zhou Enlai boldly took up the matter of handling the killers, regardless of being suspected of shielding them. He sent Li Ding to escort Sun Ming-chiu, Ying Te-tian, and Miao Chien-chiu to Sanyuan, where the Red Army was stationed, so that the targets of vengeance would be lost, and so that large-scale killing of each other would be avoided. At the same time, the faction advocating war lost their head, leaving further actions impossible, and further expansion of the state of affairs was prevented.

After the 2 February incident, the Northeast Army withdrew ahead of schedule, and the Central Army marched into Weinan. Yang Fu-cheng took refuge in Sanyuan. The majority of the army commanders of the Northeast Army demanded the implementation of Plan B, marching east to Anhui, and dispelling the progressive young officers. At the same time they guarded against the 17th Route Army with full arms. Thus, the tripartite forces no longer existed. Under these circumstances, the Central Committee was most concerned about the security of Zhou Enlai and the others, and sent a telegram ordering them "to immediately transfer to Sanyuan in case of emergency." However, Zhou Enlai had a pretty good idea that the more difficult the situation was, the greater need there was for him to remain in Xian. If he left Xian, it would be very difficult for the Liaison Office of the Red Army to exist in Xian, although its founding was just under way at that time. Likewise, it would be very difficult for the Red Army to gain a foothold in the Shaanxi Central Plain, and for the KMT-CPC talks to be carried out when the consequence could be Chiang Kai-shek resuming his "suppression of the CPC." His remaining in Xian would mean an announcement to the people of the whole country that the CPC and the Red Army were unconquerable, and would never be

suppressed, and that the strength and attitude of the CPC and the Red Army would have to be taken into consideration in China's political arena. If he persisted in working and struggling in Xian, it would show the determination and confidence of the CPC adhering to peace and opposing civil war, and its sincerity in cooperation with the KMT. To ensure the safety of his comrades, Zhou Enlai sent Bo Gu, Ye Jianying, Li Kenong, and Liu Ding to Sanyuan under the pretext of an errand, while he remained in Xian and did his best to work among the friendly forces. He also proposed the annulment of some progressive organizations including the Tongzhi Hui [0681 1807 2585, the Association of Comrades] to reduce the targets, to protect the left-wingers, and to preserve more strength for resistance against Japan. Such boldness of vision and foresight won the admiration of people throughout the country, and the KMT would not dare make light of them. It created favorable conditions for the KMT-CPC talks that took place later. On 8 February, the Central Army entered Xian peacefully under the commandship of Ku Tsu-tung. Zhou Enlai held talks with him the very next day. In the talks, Zhou Enlai made unremitting efforts to rescue Chang Hsueh-liang, and to realize the Chang-Yang 8-point proposal. Later, Zhou Enlai went to Hangzhou and Lushan to conduct direct talks with Chiang Kai-shek, and an agreement was eventually reached on KMT-CPC cooperation in resistance against Japan.

The Xian Incident that took place half a century ago demonstrated once again the strong vitality of the Chinese nation. The Chinese nation, in great disasters, fully bullied by imperialism was not reduced to a colony. It was precisely because of the indomitable struggles of such patriots and communists as Chang Hsueh-liang, Yang Fu-cheng, and Zhou Enlai; one stepping into the breach as another fell. Their glorious and heroic deeds will forever be praised by the people.

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## ON THE SPIRIT OF COMPETITION IN SPORTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 87 pp 32-35

[Article by Yang Xia [2799 1115] and Zhang Zhenting [1728 2182 0080]]

[Text] Today, "sports fever" has become a socialist and cultural phenomenon around the globe and participation in or enjoyment of sporting competition has become an important factor in people's cultural, healthy and scientific lives. According to a rough estimate, the number of people who participate in sports activities in our country today totals about 300 million. The number of spectators who watched the World Cup football competition either on the spot or on television totaled 1.28 billion throughout the world. Today, the value of sport has far surpassed simply satisfying people's health and recreational needs. It has become a positive force and an effective means in stimulating people's competitive spirit. The reason the Olympic Games and other such major international competitions can attract great attention from various countries of the world is because they are related to state and national images, and from the sports field it is possible to see the spiritual features of a country or nation. During the 10th Asian Games, our nation's athletes' brave struggle and the deep attention paid by hundreds of millions of people in their struggle for gold medals was a dynamic manifestation of the daily increasing development of the competitive spirit of our state and nation in the four modernizations.

Competition is a powerful force in social progress and national development. Today, as our nation is actively carrying out overall reforms and opening up to the outside world, the exploration of the contents, characteristics, and general significance of the spirit of competition in athletic sports should attract people's interest and contemplation.

### Competition--The Powerful Force of Sports

Competition is an intrinsic part of sports. The victors or losers and the scores of sports teams and individuals are all decided through competition on the sporting field. The 100-meter sprint is as fast as a bolt of lightning. They compete in speed and the race goes to the swiftest. In weight lifting, they are engaged in lifting heavy weights. They compete in strength and the strongest wins. In gymnastics competition, all show their great abilities and they compete on difficulty, novelty, balance, and beauty, and the leader

in points is the winner. Even in body-building competitions, they look at whose muscles are developed, whose lines are symmetrical, and the beauty of the posture. Thus, in the vast majority of physical cultural events, competition is the basic form of sport and competitiveness runs right through the sports process. Athletes are the main element of competition and every device or every move they practice in training is for the purpose of achieving victory on the sports field and winning the laurels. The field of competition is the basic stage where athletes move swiftly and freely commanding the wind and the clouds. It is here on the field of competition that they are subject to the rigorous tests of competition and it is here that the winner and the loser, the higher and the lower will be decided.

Herein, then, lies the vitality of athletic sports. It is in their intensely competitive spirit. As athletic sports have developed to today, the events have grown in number and the number of people participating has also continually increased. Their technical levels have become increasingly higher and the level of some sports events has approached the limits which the human body today can bear. And yet there is still continuous development. When the men's 100-meter sprint time came down to 10 seconds, people thought that it would be very difficult to break that record. However, afterward there was a new record set of 9.93 seconds. After Zhu Jianhua set the astonishing record of 2.39 meters in the men's high jump, it was soon broken by a Soviet athlete, who raised the record to 2.41 meters. Things always develop in the struggle of contradictions. Sporting competition is also a course of struggle between the contrasts of strong and weak, outstanding and poor, advanced and backward, correct and mistaken, and vanguard and conservatism. Through competition, the advanced is affirmed, the backward encouraged, the creative developed, the conservative discarded, and a continuous flow of new talent, new techniques, and new achievements is promoted. Thereby athletic sports are pushed to new and higher levels. Within 5 or 6 years, the Chinese women's volleyball team took five championships as a result of intense competition with the U.S., Japanese, Soviet, Cuban, and other powerful teams of the world. The competition stimulated their indomitable fighting will and their spirit of going all out in the struggle. Thus one batch after another of outstanding international volleyball stars who continually created and developed diverse new techniques and new tactics was produced. In this way, the sport of international volleyball was pushed to a new stage. The Chinese table tennis team which had held sway in the world table tennis arena for over 20 years, suffered defeat after defeat in both men's and women's teams competition at the 10th Asian Games. This situation was closely tied to the fact that either consciously or unconsciously they had reduced their competitive consciousness and were insufficiently innovative. Only when there is competition can people's subjective initiative be motivated and their potential tapped to the greatest degree. Thereby people's strengths and wisdom can be combined and they can struggle to realize their anticipated targets. The Olympic Games have a famous motto: "Faster, higher, stronger." This is a condensed manifestation of the spirit of competition in sports.

Only when sports are competitive do they have the appeal and the power to excite people's hearts. On the field of competition, the exquisite skills

of the athletes and their fine movements bring great enjoyment to people. The changes in the situation on the field, the ups and downs and the thrilling scenes provide the spectator with great excitement. Not knowing who will win and who will lose and the difficulty of predicting the competition's outcome also gets the spectators very involved. The fierce competition often intoxicates the spectators or causes them to act insanely, while the final results make some people happy and other people distressed. Sporting competitions do not have any plots, but they are still tragicomedies which stir people's hearts. The strongest force among these are the gold-medal winners or laurel-takers. People can often see both strength and wisdom in these people and are thereby both encouraged and enlightened. Competition molds heroes on the sporting field and also molds spectators who respect and esteem the heroes.

### The Characteristics of Modern Sports Competition

Sporting competition is manifested in its own special ways. Following the high-level development of modern sports, both the internal aspects and external extensions of sporting competition have been enriched and deepened, and it is brimming with the philosophy of life and the spirit of the times. Its major characteristics are detailed below:

1. In competition, all persons are equal. Sporting competition is carried out under certain restrictions in terms of rules and regulations and under the same objective conditions in terms of time, place, equipment, and weather and no one is excluded from competing. In high jumping, everyone is equal before the crossbar and in sprinting everyone is equal before the stopwatch. In striving for victory in the competition, one can only rely on real abilities and great efforts. Winning or losing and being first or second all depend on the participant's athletic level and athletic condition. Maradona relied on his own superior football abilities to become a "football superstar" and Lang Ping, through her powerhouse smashing abilities, became lauded as "iron hammer." On the playing field one cannot just join the crowd and pass oneself off as talented, one cannot use relationships, rely on one's backers or go through the back door. The strong and the weak, the high and the low are clearly differentiated. The superior win and the inferior lose. It is an impartial system. In normal situations, those who engage in unhealthy tendencies and are opportunistic and those who violate the competitive spirit of fair play will be subject to curbing by the referee and the sanctions of the rules. At the same time, unfairness by the referee will be subject to denunciation by fair-minded public opinion. This opportunity for equal competition ensures that the results are genuine and believable. This sort of competition can better promote the growth of people's abilities and the realization of excellent achievements and promote the continued development and improvement of sporting techniques.

2. The main competitive force is constantly changing. The new superseding the old is an irresistible law. This is more clearly and more frequently seen on the field of competition. Sporting competition is an "undertaking of the young" and once athletes pass the "optimum age" for achieving outstanding feats, they become overripe blossoms. Prize cups often change hands



and records are continually being broken. Stars on the sporting field have no "life tenure system." The sporting world has a saying which is quite philosophical: "The sporting vitality of athletes is often bade farewell by defeat." This shows that the development of sporting techniques is unending, and that the period in which a person can achieve outstanding feats is limited. As soon as an athlete's competitive force declines, it is inevitable that he retire from the field of competition. Only if new people and new skills emerge can sporting teams have full vitality and powerful vigor. It is often the new skills and new achievements of new people that bring new victories. In several sports such as table tennis, gymnastics and diving, every year our nation sees new springs of talent emerging. When there is much innovation, sports achievements can realize a high tide. As soon as there is a lack of people to follow, or a dearth of innovation, techniques will stagnate and both progress and achievements will enter a low-tide period and a crisis in the sport may even become evident. This shows that in the training of skilled people, there cannot be a break in the levels. In order to accord with the demands of competition, sporting teams should always take the opportunity to train and raise new members so that the new can replace the old. There are able people at all levels. Abilities should be the only criterion and people should not be promoted purely on a seniority basis. There is no "iron rice-bowl." This has already become a common occurrence and accepted practice in sporting competition.

3. The competitive stage is unprecedentedly wide. A commentator in a Western country has said that the reason sports have such great appeal and influence is because they are a form of direct competition not restricted by language, ideology, or geography. In modern competition, in addition to the Olympic Games and the major continental games, there are also international championships and cup competitions for various individual sports, as well as bilateral and multilateral international sporting contacts. There are often major competitions and they occur one after another. This has resulted in modern sporting competition becoming internationally competitive. The focus of competition has shifted from a domestic focus to an international focus. The aim of competition is to obtain glory for one's state and nation on the international sporting field, and at the same time, to promote mutual understanding and friendship between the people of various countries and maintain world peace. The combination of this distinctive international-nature and intense national-nature has resulted in international sporting competitions being unprecedentedly intense.

Since 1979, when our nation recovered its legitimate position in the International Olympic Committee, China's sporting competition stage has shifted from mainly being domestic to mainly being international and is now completely moving toward the world. When we speak of competition now, it mainly refers to competition in the international category. Our competitive opponents are generally the best athletes of the various countries of the world. The level we seek should be the highest international level. The domestic scene and the international scene are linked together and international competition cannot be divorced from domestic competition. However, domestic competition must be subordinate to and must serve international competition.

It must accumulate strengths for international competition and improve our abilities to contend in international sporting fields. Thus, we should strive to be number one and take championships domestically, but more importantly we should put stress on being number one and striving for the championship in international competitions.

International sporting competition requires that we firmly establish a concept of opening to the outside world. We must set our sights on the international stage and consider things from the development of international sport when setting development strategies and goals for struggle in our nation's sport. We must master the newest information in world sport, bravely draw in advanced foreign sports science and technology and management methods, and study the fine styles of foreign athletes. It will not be possible for a country that closes itself off to international intercourse, does not understand and does not study the history and present situation of international sport, and does not draw in new air from the outside world to realize the modernization of its sports and thereby be able to become a powerful contender in international competition.

4. The degree of difficulty of competition increases daily. Modern sporting techniques have already realized a very high level, and training athletes who accord with the demands of international sporting competition is a complex systematic project. In competition, athletes are all measured against each other through an overall, comprehensive measurement involving physique, technology, tactics, psychology, intelligence, cultural accomplishments, and ethical standards. This comparative measurement increases the contents of competition and raises the degree of difficulty of the competition. How to carry out scientific training has become an outstanding problem in international sporting competition. In countries that are developed in the sporting aspect, people are applying new achievements in many fields of science and technology, such as physiology, psychology, biomechanics, biochemistry, genetic engineering, systems engineering, and so on, in training and in competition. The times when athletes purely relied on bearing hardship and training hard to obtain good results are now gone. Behind the competition on the sporting field, there is often competition in terms of modern science and technology. This requires that people establish a concept of respecting science and relying on science and get rid of outdated training ideas as well as object-style and experience-style training methods and measures.

Modern sporting competition is often not only simply a cycle or repetition of old techniques and old tactics. A new victory often means the birth of a new technique or new tactic. If there is no innovation, there will be no breakthroughs. The initiators of the "Thomas swing," the "Tsukahara spring," the "Te-ka-qie-fu vault," the "Li Ning rings routine," and the "Tong Fei pommel routine" became celebrities for a time as they created and mastered new techniques which brought great changes in the development of gymnastics techniques. As soon as innovation stops, the development of sports techniques will then cease and athletes will lose their competitive spirit. Thus, overcoming the idea of sticking to old ways and being complacent and conservative, strengthening a creative consciousness, developing a spirit of

innovation and continually promoting new techniques, new tactics, and new training methods and measures is the key to maintaining strong competitive abilities.

Competition on the sporting field also involves competition in terms of athletes' spiritual state. People often speak of the spirit of all-out struggle by athletes. This is an important ideological factor in striving for victory on the sporting field. It is a centralized manifestation of athletes' lofty goals of struggle, faith in inevitable victory, tenacious struggle, their sound and stable psychological mechanism, and their wisdom and abilities to deal with complex situations. Their spirit of all-out struggle is built on the basis of stressing science and strength. It is not purely the concept and zealousness and neither is it blind recklessness. The spiritual state and technical strength are complementary. In a situation where strengths are equal "when the two armies meet, the brave shall win." The spiritual state often plays a decisive role in determining the winner and the loser in competition. The Chinese women's volleyball team defeated Cuba, the Soviet Union and other powerful women's volleyball teams and took five championships; the Chinese men's 4 times 100-meter relay team took the decisive gold medal on the final day of competition in the 10th Asian Games. These events fully manifest the important role of the spiritual state in competition on the sporting field.

#### Use the Spirit of Competition in Carrying Out the Four Modernizations

Leading comrades of the Central Committee have said that we must use the spirit of athletes in carrying out the four modernizations. We understand this as mainly referring to using the competitive spirit of athletes in sporting competition to carry out the four modernizations.

Competition, in which the strong win and the weak lose, is a natural law of biological evolution and is also an important force in promoting the social progress of man's society. Although the spirit of sporting competition has its own special forms of manifestation, a universality exists in this special nature. This enlightens people on all fronts of the four modernizations that when competition is brimming with vigor, the competition can promote progress and development. Many characteristics and experiences of sporting competition can be drawn on as references for other undertakings.

At present, our country is reforming the economic and political structures and is developing a socialist commodity economy. In all of this, it is necessary to develop the spirit of competition. In the past, for a long period we did not promote competition and the results, it appears, are not very good.

The Chinese nation is a great nation, rich in the spirit of enterprise. It has created a magnificent culture, made brilliant contributions to the development of man's society, and still today is making its due contribution. However, in the long period of feudal society, because of the influence of the small producer ideas and the traditional ideologies like the golden mean, our nation's competitive spirit has been greatly fettered and constrained.

In the semifeudal and semicolonial society of the modern period, in some people there was engendered a sense of national inferiority and they wallowed in degeneration. Also, for quite a long period since the founding of the PRC, "leftist" guiding ideology has to a certain degree stifled people's competitive spirit. Thus, at present, as the spirit of competition is starting to be developed, in some people's minds there remain various remnants of outdated concepts and backward understandings which are not beneficial to competition and which restrict competition. For example, some people simply see competition in capitalism and egalitarianism in socialism. They have no end to worries about implementing competition and they even wish to keep it a closely guarded secret. Being content with the present situation, being happy with poverty, and not competing with the world lacks an explorative and progressive spirit. Being reluctant to leave the "iron rice bowl" and "let everybody eat from the same pot"; speaking about "egalitarianism" in everything, disregarding whether someone has worked well or badly, considering the establishment of one's reputation as an authority as "seeking to be in the limelight"; regarding striving to be best as "individual heroism"; believing in the philosophy of "shooting birds that show themselves" and "the prominent rafters are the first to rot"; promoting people purely on a seniority basis; being jealous of worth and envious of abilities; rejecting the advanced and stifling newly emerging strengths; in getting things done, in promotion and in entering higher schools, not relying on one's own real abilities but on behind-the-scenes contacts and back door connections and even relying on currying favor with and flattering those with power; all of these are actions in direct violation of the spirit of competition and do not benefit the smooth implementation of the present reforms or the healthy development of the various undertakings.

We are in a competitive age. Economic, scientific, and cultural development in all countries of the world has become globally competitive. As we engage in socialist modernization we are in fact in competition with the world's developed countries. This competition is broader, deeper, and more grand than sporting competition. Competing in speed and in results, indomitably developing and advancing, daring to strive for the championship and for the gold medals on the world stage in all areas; this intense spirit of competition is an important condition for achieving success in socialist modernization. The "Resolution on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee points out that we must "raise the overall ideological and moral quality and the scientific and cultural quality of the Chinese nation." In addition, there is another quality; namely, the physical quality of the nation. Developing the competitive spirit is an indispensable aspect of improving these qualities of our nation. When these qualities are improved, it will further strengthen people's intellectual and physical abilities and will thereby create more beneficial conditions for the building of material and spiritual civilization. We must consciously strengthen our competitive consciousness and throughout the society gradually form a harmonious and healthy competitive style and competitive environment. When our nation's spirit has been revitalized, everyone will struggle to be first and dread being behind. Everyone will advance together, work in

a sure and steady way, and thus a brand-new situation will appear in the four modernizations.

Looking at the great competitive stage of the four modernizations from the playing field of sporting competition, we should have full confidence in the future of the motherland and the whole Chinese nation.

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## PONDERING THE QUESTION OF CHANGES IN CONCEPTS

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[Article by Li Congjun [2621 1783 6511]]

[Text] Over the past few years, along with the overall development of reform and opening up, some rigid and decadent social concepts have been undergoing great changes. How did these changes in concepts take place, and how should we understand the nature, development, orientation, and demands of these changes? These are all serious subjects for us to ponder.

### I

In the final analysis, all changes in concepts reflect changes in social life and social relations in the ideological field. When social life enters a new period, if people continue to look at, analyze, and appraise everything according to old concepts, they will unavoidably contradict and clash with changing or changed realities. Such contradictions and clashes can be resolved in only one way; namely, concepts should be suited to the demands of reality. The changes in concepts now taking place in China are actually expressions of this objective necessity of history and a logical result of the development of social life. On the other hand, we must also fully recognize the reaction to concepts in social life. Once an ideological concept, which is decided by the existence of society, emerges, it is relatively independent and will inevitably influence social life to varying degrees. The various changes that have taken place in China since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee fully shows that the basic principle of Marxism on the existence of society determining social ideology and how social ideology reacts to the existence of society is entirely correct.

The changes in our political concepts over the past few years are attracting worldwide attention. They indicate the beginning of the overall social reform. For example, we have smashed the trammels of the personality cult and the "two whatevers," resolutely shaken off the rigid concept of "taking class struggle as the key link," clarified the idea that the fundamental task of socialism is to promote the productive forces, set a high value for the position and role of science and technology as well as the intellectuals in modern society, and expanded the scope of socialist freedom and democracy. The changes in political concepts over the past few years have greatly



stimulated people's enthusiasm in building socialist modernizations. A good trend has appeared in China's political situation, which has never been seen before. Moreover, great changes have also taken place in our economic concepts. They are chiefly expressed by the recognition of the socialist commodity economy and the changes in the concepts concerning finance, circulation, the market, prices, information, and consumption. Both the changes in economic concepts and the reform of the economic structure have brought about enormous changes in China's industry and agriculture. At the same time as the changes in political and economic concepts have occurred, people's concepts concerning ethics, culture, life, and so forth have also changed. This has promoted changes in the whole society's mental attitude. These are all positive achievements we have made in the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

However, we must also understand clearly that the development of reform and opening up in width and depth has continuously set new demands on the changes in concepts. It may be appropriate to say that the current changes in concepts still cannot suit the needs of the development of the situation. Practice shows that whenever the reform of the economic and political structures takes a step forward, outdated and erroneous concepts are always the first ones to be targeted, and the first resistance also comes from these concepts. If no sufficient ideological preparations are made for this problem, the reform will be unable to advance in big strides. On the other hand, since some people may fail to gain a good understanding of the measures for the reform, the progress of reform may also be affected. If things are not done well, some factors of instability may even surface. Therefore, further changes in concepts are greatly significant to the further development of reform. In order to ensure the smooth progress of reform in the next stage, we must pay attention to some tendentious questions which have emerged in the changes of concepts.

## II

There are two tendentious questions in the changes of concepts that merit our attention. We need to unify our understanding of these questions and find a correct orientation to follow.

There is a tendency for people to stick to the old rigid way of thinking and the old social mentality. In their way of thinking, many people are still stubbornly using some outdated conclusions and concepts as criteria to distinguish between right and wrong. And restricted by their own prejudices and ignorance, they regard new ideas and concepts that have been put forth to suit the new situation as heretical opinions. In their social mentality, many people still cannot extricate themselves from traditional inertia. They are used to the easy and stable life under old circumstances and always have doubts and complaints about new things. For example, some of them are always perplexed and uneasy when they see new things in the reform. And they cannot bear the sight of the various changes that have emerged in the course of developing the socialist commodity economy, and are reluctant to part with the "big rice pot" and "egalitarianism." Once they see the reform suffer setbacks or certain problems appear, they find an excuse to negate the reform.

The same thing has happened in their attitude toward the practice of opening up to the outside world. Some people are still looking at this new thing with their old and narrow eyesight, laying all the blame on it for any problems that emerge, without analyzing it at all. Therefore, it is an important and arduous task for us to oppose this rigid way of thinking and the social mentality of sticking to old ways as concepts change.

The other tendency is total negation of traditional culture and blind worship of modern Western ideology. As concepts change, it is necessary for us to retrospect on past history and throw away all those decadent concepts that are incompatible with the new social basis. But some people have gone to another extreme. They regard our past history and traditional culture as a kind of "heavy spiritual burden" and "rotten historical garbage." Because of this absolute negation, a blank space has appeared in their ideology. However, they are unable to create new concepts to fill the space. This is why they have advocated replacing all our concepts with modern Western ideology and new theories of natural and social sciences. As a matter of fact, all those who advocate this viewpoint lack a real understanding of both our history and reality.

No nation's cultural tradition in history or history of cultural tradition is immutable and frozen. Just as Hegel said: "This tradition is not an immovable stone statue, but is full of vitality, must like a powerful current." ("Lectures on the History of Philosophy--Introductions") The vigor of a nation exists amid this powerful current. No nation can sever itself from its own tradition. We must realize that there are both identities and differences between the whole and the parts of a traditional culture. The cultural tradition of a nation cannot be entirely included in the feudalist patriarchal concept. It has a broader extension and richer content. Total negation is an expression of absolutism in theory and is inapplicable in reality. Some people say that total negation is a kind of deep hatred out of deep love. However, if the most fundamental thing of the national spirit is also thrown away, then what do they love?

We should admit some new theories of natural sciences in the West are playing a positive role in promoting the development of social science theories, and to some extent, are of great value to us in understanding social phenomena. However, when we take them as our reference point in understanding social phenomena, we should not use them indiscriminately to explain every social phenomenon or apply them in all spheres, nor should we make them absolute or regard them as unchangeable formulas. We should absorb outstanding parts of some new theories of modern social sciences in the West, and take only those parts as our reference point rather than regarding them as universal truths with which to replace everything. It is not difficult for us to see that mechanically copying or indiscriminately using these concepts usually results in our juggling words and phrases and playing down the true significance of these concepts in reality.

To distinguish between "new" and "old" concepts we must adopt an attitude of making concrete analyses. On the one hand, we must realize that not all the past and old concepts are wrong and should be eliminated and discarded. On

the contrary, some of them should be inherited, developed, and enhanced. For example, in the political field, party leadership and the people's democratic dictatorship; in the economic field, the leading position of public ownership, the principle of distribution according to work, and the development of the national economy in a planned way; and in social ethics, the concepts of serving the people, being perfectly impartial and selfless, and waging a hard struggle. On the other hand, not all the new concepts are good and should be recommended. Some so-called new concepts are actually old concepts that have been negated by Chinese history for a long time. For example, some people have blind faith in modern Western ideology and bourgeois philosophy and social sciences. Some of them have even advocated discarding Marxism, regarding it as something "outdated," and proposed adopting some bourgeois political systems, such as the "two-party system," the "opposition party," and "inner-party factions." These propositions, which run counter to the four basic principles and the original intention of changing concepts, are resolutely opposed by the broad masses of people. Just think, the CPC has carried out arduous and brave armed struggles and socialist construction for more than half a century in light of China's national situation and proceeding from the fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities in our country. But it has yet to go back to the capitalist system in both the political and economic fields. Is this not a great satire on modern and contemporary Chinese history and the people's revolutionary cause? Therefore, in changing concepts, we should always keep a clear head and draw a clear distinction between socialist and capitalist natures and between progressive Western concepts and rotten bourgeois concepts and we should firmly and unswervingly adhere to the four basic principles and the socialist orientation. At the same time, we must make concrete analyses rather than judging between right and wrong and between good and bad simply based on whether a concept is new or old. In short, all this should be examined by the practice of socialist construction.

### III

To ensure the smooth development of the changes in concepts, it is not enough for us to merely pay attention to overcoming the deviations in these changes. We must also make clear the prerequisites, principles, and demands of these changes and pay attention to other relevant questions.

In different times, changes in concepts have different prerequisites, conditions, principles, and demands. For example, changing concepts in modern China are entirely different from those in the May 4th period. In that period, the spreading of Marxism brought about a fundamental change in China's social concepts, and overthrowing the old society was the basic prerequisite for changing concepts. But today, the changes in concepts are expressions of self-perfection in the socialist system under the guidance of Marxism. Marxism is the guiding ideology, and socialism is the normal track to follow. This is the basic prerequisite for the concept changes in China today. The basic contents and forms of concept changes in the current stage are all decided by this prerequisite.

To put it more concretely, since changing concepts is an important task in building socialist spiritual civilization today, there should be some demands on it from a higher level of the overall implementation of the socialist modernization drive, which in turn puts forth some principles and demands for the changes in concepts.

First, the changes in concepts must serve the development of the reform of the economic structure. As everyone knows, China is a country in which the natural economy was the dominant position for a long time. Under such economic conditions the concept of small production was able to develop quickly. Thus, both the reform of the economic structure and the development of the socialist commodity economy are naturally and instinctively resisted by the concept of small production. When the phenomena such as enterprise bankruptcy, investment in companies, and securities markets appear in social economic life, many contradictions also appear. In this regard, we must ponder the following measures carefully: 1) Take into consideration the capacity the social mentality bears and promote the changes step by step and at the appropriate time; 2) do a good job in guiding changes in concepts. In the economic field, the key problem in concept changes is to guide the people to gain a correct understanding of all kinds of questions concerning the socialist commodity economy and to understand that the development of the socialist commodity economy is an insurmountable stage in building socialism. It is necessary to make the people really understand that without the development of the commodity economy, there will be no advances in our economic construction. Of course, after implementing the policy of developing the socialist commodity economy, there will still be many problems that need our conscientious investigation and analysis. For example, how do we enhance party leadership after promoting the commodity economy? What is the difference between stressing profits and being intent on nothing but profit? Have the phenomena such as bankruptcy of enterprises and unemployment of workers resulting from the development of the socialist commodity economy harmed the position of the working class, who are masters of their own houses? If no definite answers are given to these questions and there are still confused ideas in these respects, how can we have a unified understanding and take conscientious actions?

Second, changes in concepts must help promote the reform of the political structure. In this respect, we are faced with the two tasks of eliminating the remnant feudalist concepts and overcoming the influence of bourgeois ideology. The remnant feudalist concepts are a kind of inertia suppressing and fettering people's thinking. This is just as Marx described in his preface to the first edition of "Das Kapital," Volume 1: "Alongside modern evils, a whole series of inherited evils oppress us, arising from the passive survival of antiquated modes of production, with their inevitable train of social and political anachronisms... The dead seize the living!" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 207) What merits our attention is that most of these feudalist remnants are not defending their positions openly but are trying to preserve their existence in two ways: 1) Along with the establishment of the new social system, they attach to or mix with people's social relations in a changed form; and 2) they soak into the people's minds and play their roles covertly in the name of socialist principles. Eliminating

these attachments and mixtures aims at building socialism on a scientific basis. If the concepts are not clarified and people still do not know what feudalism remnants are, how can we talk about eliminating them? In the past, some problems also existed in our ideological education, including education for party members. Sometimes, some remaining feudalism concepts were regarded as socialist concepts and were widely spread. However, we must also point out that in an effort to eliminate the remaining feudalism concepts, we must not go to the other extreme and advocate bourgeois democracy. The latter, though more progressive than the feudalism patriarchal concept and the concepts of totalitarianism, hierarchy, and rule by one person, is, fundamentally speaking, an ideological weapon for maintaining the capitalist system. We can make use of it and take its reasonable parts as our reference points, but we cannot use it to oppose the remaining feudalism concepts. This is because socialist democracy is a higher stage of spiritual emancipation of mankind on the premise that it eliminates class exploitation and oppression and people are masters of their own houses, which is incomparable with bourgeois democracy.

Third, changes in concepts should help promote the building of socialist spiritual civilization. The changes in concepts are more directly related with the building of socialist spiritual civilization, because concepts belong to the category of spirit. Raising people's ideological and concept level means raising their level of spiritual civilization. For this reason, raising the quality of people is a fundamental task for concept changes. Both reform and construction cannot be separated from people. Only when the quality of people is improved can the reform of the political and economic structures be carried out successfully. The spreading and development of Marxism in China provide us with a sound ideological basis for building spiritual civilization, and the reform and opening up enable us to make more exchanges with foreign countries in the spiritual field. Provided we persist in this effort, we will surely be able to continuously improve the ideological, ethical, and cultural quality of the Chinese nation.

In changing concepts we must also pay attention to both the reality and our practice.

First, we must proceed from reality and ponder the question of changes in concepts in light of our real conditions rather than disregarding reality and our national situation. After all, these changes in concepts are taking place in China. Therefore, we must give up all kinds of beautiful but unrealistic fantasies. Our national situation and real conditions all show that China is still in the initial stage of socialism and is still a large country in which there are great differences among various regions in natural and human conditions and in which development is uneven. This is the basis and starting point of concept changes. It determines that the changes in concepts are long-term, arduous, and complicated tasks. Since the changes in concepts are taking place in the course of exploration, without a ready-made pattern to follow, we should allow the emergence of certain mistakes and allow people to select certain new concepts. If we understand this, we will not blame people and God or feel depressed when seeing some problems emerge in the course of changing concepts. We must proceed from

reality and realize both social transformation and concept changes step by step, stage by stage, and in a realistic manner. At the same time, these changes should take place in light of the different conditions of various areas.

Second, the changes in concepts should be linked with practice. Practice requires changes in concepts, but at the same time, restrains these changes. Therefore, while recognizing the enormous role played by concept changes in guiding and promoting our practices, we must also prevent the tendency of regarding concepts as superior to everything else and must not indulge in loud and empty talk. We must continue to attach primary importance to practice and take an active part in the practice of reform, so that we can understand better the internal requirements and trend of development of concept changes and foster our creativity. We must be bold in applying new concepts in practice and be good at changing old concepts in the course of practice.

The question of reality and practice in concept changes is, in essence, a question of how to adhere to and develop Marxism in the reform. The current reform in China will have an immeasurable influence on the development of Marxism. On the one hand, theory guides practice, and on the other, practice pushes forward the development of theory. To proceed from reality and practice, we are required to adhere to the basic principles of Marxism and change those conclusions that do not suit today's situation due to the changing times. At the same time, we are required to enrich and develop Marxism by incorporating contemporary theories. Only thus can concept changes have a definite orientation and rich and colorful contents.

From the very first day of its birth, Marxism has taken the changes in concepts as its important historical mission. All Marxists should understand the following point: Changing concepts is not a modern plaything nor a dishonest practice, but a serious problem, an important task of the socialist modernization drive, and a profound revolution in the ideological field. If our leading cadres and party members at various levels do not take an active part in the changes of concepts or do not adopt a correct attitude toward these changes, they will surely fall behind or lose their bearings in this revolution.

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CSO: 4005/374



CHERISHING THE MEMORY OF COMRADE CHEN YI

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 87 p 40

[Poem<sup>1</sup> by Liu Guanyi [0491 6306 0001]]

[Text] How many people can hold a candle to his conversance?  
His talents both as a scholar and a strategist won worldwide admiration!  
Together we composed poems along the path in the meadow of Huanghuatang,<sup>2</sup>  
And years later, played chess under the shade of ancient pines in front of  
Ziguangge.<sup>3</sup>

Never a day did he stop making revolution,  
He dedicated his heart and soul to world peace.  
A brilliant star of our times now fell in Wuzhang,<sup>4</sup>  
His former comrades-in-arms are bathed in tears.

FOOTNOTES

1. This is an old poem of mine, written when I learned the sad news that Comrade Chen Yi passed away on 6 January 1972. In great grief, I wrote this poem to mourn him.
2. One of the sites where the former New 4th Army was stationed.
3. Ziguangge was the site of Comrade Chen Yi's office in Zhongnanhai.
4. Prime Minister Zhu Gelang of the Three Kingdoms died at this place in Sichuan.

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## LECTURER GROUPS ARE AN IMPORTANT FORCE IN THE FIELD OF THEORETICAL EDUCATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 87 pp 41-42

[Commentator's article]

[Text] A vigorous contingent of lecturers is now working on the Marxist theory education front, and is playing an increasingly important role. This force is the Lecturer Groups for Cadre Theoretical Education.

The Lecturer Groups for Cadre Theoretical Education were established in the 1950's. In those years, in order to conduct Marxist theoretical education among cadres, all localities set up lecturer groups at provincial and prefectural levels in light of the CPC central leadership instruction. The lecturer groups played a positive role in cadre theoretical education work. Afterward, the political movements in fact suspended Marxist theoretical education for cadres, and this contingent was gradually disbanded. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party reestablished the ideological, political, and organizational Marxist line, and socialist modernization construction was developed fully in the whole country. When facing the new situation and the new tasks, our cadres did not have sufficient theoretical knowledge to meet the new requirements, and this weak point became more and more apparent, affecting implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies. Therefore, conducting constant and systematic Marxist theoretical education among cadres became an important item in the central leadership's agenda, and the necessity to form a professional contingent of full-time theoretical lecturers became more obvious. In September 1982, the CPC central leadership approved the party Central Propaganda Department's program for organizing the study and publicity for the documents from the 12th CPC National Congress, which pointed out: "It is necessary to restore, establish, and perfect lecturer groups to conduct theoretical education among incumbent cadres." By June 1986, 26 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities had set up provincial and prefectural level lecturer groups. According to the plan, the total number of lecturers should comprise some 4,700 people, and there are already more than 2,800 incumbent lecturers.

The main lecturer groups' task is to compile teaching materials and give lectures to guide the cadres' theoretical studies. At the same time, they also do teaching organization work and conduct theoretical research and

propaganda work. At present, Marxist theoretical education for incumbent cadres is conducted in light of different requirements for different students: First, party and government cadres at and above the county level who have received high school education but have not systematically studied basic Marxist theory are required to take several courses on Marxist theory under the guidance of the lecturers; second, leading cadres at and above the county level, especially leading cadres of party committees at various levels, are organized to study the classic works of Marxism, important central documents on principles and policies in the form of central study groups or full-time study classes under the guidance of the lecturers in light of the party's central work; third, around the party's central work in various periods, education in the party's line, principles, and policies and in the current situation is conducted among all cadres, and guidance is given to help them study important central documents and important speeches by central leading comrades. In recent years, the Lecturer Groups for Cadre Theoretical Education in various localities closely cooperated with the theory section of the party committee propaganda department at the same level, and played an important role in theoretical education in the above-mentioned three aspects. In the first aspect alone, in 1985, more than 2 million cadres in the whole country participated in the studies. Cadres in most provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities completed the Marxist philosophy and political economy courses, and some cadres also studied national economy management and leadership science. In some localities, the lecturers are preparing the teaching of socialist commodity economy theory. Practice shows that without such a teaching force, there would not be such marked results in cadre theoretical education, and the situation in theoretical study would not be as good as it is now.

In order to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, to successfully carry out reform and opening up, and to build socialist spiritual civilization, we must adhere to the principle of combining the general principles of Marxism with China's actual conditions. Therefore, cadres are now required to attain a high rather than a lower Marxist theoretical level, and Marxist theoretical education for cadres is a strategic long-term task, rather than an expedient measure. To ensure the quality of study, there must be teaching and guidance. The students are all cadres. In general, they have rather rich practical experience and are responsible for implementing policies, and even making policies. So they will not rest content with understanding of the general theories in the books. They have a strong desire to link the theories with their practical work. So, general teaching and guidance will not meet the needs of the cadres. What they need is a higher level of theoretical tuition which links theory with practice. The lecturer groups for theoretical education under the direct leadership of the party committees, as an important force are not institutions which we can do without, nor are they provisional organizations. No matter what they are called, such work, such a force, and such organizations will exist for a long time, and will be consolidated, developed, and improved.

The lecturer groups at provincial and prefectural level are theoretical teaching organizations subject to the leadership of the party committees at the same level, and subject to the guidance of the party committee's

propaganda department. So, they should closely cooperate with the theory section of the propaganda department and join forces in doing a good job in cadre theoretical education. With the support of party committees at various levels, the work of the lecturer groups has made marked progress in recent years, and the lecturer groups themselves have also grown up. However, there are still many difficulties in the process of development. In some localities, the issues of staffing, budgets, official titles offices, and remuneration for the lecturers have not been properly solved, and this has affected lecturer group work to a certain degree. Party committees and governments should show more concern for lecturer groups at the same level and give them more support. At the same time, the lecturer groups should continue to improve their work. They should earnestly implement the principle of linking theory with practice, and give theoretical instruction in connection with the actual conditions in the current reform, opening up, and building of the two civilizations. The lecturers should further enhance their theoretical attainments and teaching skills, and should pay more attention to investigating and studying the major practical issues in reform and construction, and the problems in people's minds. If they really do this, the lecturer groups will certainly play a greater role in cadre theoretical education work and will make greater contributions to adhering to and developing Marxism.

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## HOW SHOULD WE UNDERSTAND 'VALUE CONCEPTS'?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 87 pp 42-44

[Article by Lu Ding [7627 0002] and Jian Yi [1696 0001]]

[Text] The "Resolution on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology" which was adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee pointed out that following the development of the socialist commodity economy and the perfecting of socialist democratic politics, there would be new and greater demands being made on the building of spiritual civilization. One of these demands is the formation of value concepts which are beneficial to socialist modernization and to the overall reforms. Some comrades have asked: What is the meaning of "value concepts"? How should "value concepts" be understood? Here we will discuss our own views on these questions.

If we look at the words involved, then both in China and abroad there are two definitions of the word value. In our nation's past, one meaning of the word "value" was the price of goods, while another was a person's status or position. The latter meaning is illustrated in a line by the poet Li Bai: "When one scales the Dragon Gate, one's status increases tenfold." Abroad, one meaning of value is the price of goods and its scientific definition is the general, undifferentiated human labor; namely abstract human labor, condensed in a commodity. Another meaning includes respect, prizing, stressing, special treatment, high assessment, an honorary place, a glorious position, and so on. (See "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 19, p 146) We can see that the first meaning of value comes from the economic sense of value, while the second meaning is not limited by economics and can be used in wider areas of social life. "Value concepts," a term which is often used by people today, is in most cases used in the second sense.

Now that the conception of "value" is widely used in social life, philosophy, ethics, aesthetics, sociology, and other fields of study because there are differences in the basic ideas and methods of the various schools of thought, a great lack of definitiveness and uniformity in terms of the meaning of "value" has resulted. Looking back at history, we can see that people's exploration of the question of value extends back to ancient times. However, true specialized research into the question of value began during the European Renaissance. From this period, the value of man was stressed and

having man replace the spiritual truly became the yardstick for all things on earth. This was a great conceptual revolution in mankind's history and it played an extremely revolutionary role in the formation of a consciousness critical of feudalism and religion. From the end of the 19th century to the first half of this century, in the Western world many works which explored the question of value from different philosophical stands appeared and this gradually formed quite an independent theory--value theory. Especially since World War II it seems that all of the Western humanist [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] philosophical schools have discussed the question of values. Since the Renaissance, Western value theory has included many positive factors. This has enlightened people to be able to understand the objective world not only in its basic features, but also in the role it has played on man. Thereby it has pushed man's dynamic role into further prominence. Seen from the political angle, it has been significant in its criticism of the various ideas and actions in feudal society and in capitalist society which "belittle the value of man." Despite this, the Western theory of values is, overall, idealist. This idealism is divided into two general types. The subjective idealists believe that values are only relative to an individual's likes, hopes, interests and aspirations. The objective idealists believe that values, like Plato's concept of reason, transcend the ideals and standards of the actual world. The negation of the objective nature of values and changing values into purely subjective things or things which transcend reality is a common failing in the Western theory of values. The Western theory of value denies the scientific, historical materialist view of society, and it is divorced from the social nature and actual nature of man. Rather, it proceeds from the naturalness of man and abstractly discusses the value of man. All of this is tinted with heavy hues of individualism. Thus, we must make a scientific analysis of the Western theory of values. We cannot completely reject it and we cannot blindly worship it or copy it.

Marx specifically studied the value of labor and the theory of surplus value, and also touched on the overall theory of value. In the system of Marxist theory, there are rich ideas and discussions on the theory of value, which await exploration. It should be said that our research in this respect is greatly insufficient. In the last few years, many people have carried out analytical research into the question of values by exerting themselves in the use of dialectical materialist and historical materialist ideas and methods. This is a pleasing phenomenon. This research has indicated that value is a type of relationship category. In the relationship between people and the objective world, it reveals the affirmative or negative significance of nature and society on people. If nature or society has a positive significance on man or if a person has positive significance on other people or society, then they have value. If not, they have no value. Put in a more ordinary way, if a particular thing, event or person has use or benefit to society or other persons, then it or they have value. An isolated individual cannot be a manifestation of value. It is only when this individual plays a positive role with respect to other people or nature, that he can manifest value. In the same way, if a purely natural thing like a tree has no relationship with people, it cannot manifest value. Value can only be manifested in a relationship between man and the objective world or



between man and man. When it is manifested, it shows the existence of man and the existence of the objective world. The two are objectively existing things which in themselves have value. However, it is only in a relationship between man and the objective world that the value can be manifested. If this point is not accepted, then it is not possible to draw a clear dividing line between this and idealist value theory. Values have great importance in man's social life. Regardless of whether we speak of material life or spiritual life, in neither case is it possible to be divorced from values, as both material life and spiritual life involve values.

"The value of man" is a central question often discussed by people. However, what is the value of man? We believe, in accordance with the ideas of many progressive thinkers and scientists and in accordance with Marxist theory, that the value of man refers to the relationship between man and society. It includes two aspects. The first is the responsibility and contributions of the individual to society and the second is the society's respect for and satisfaction with the individual. The first is a prerequisite for the value of man and the second is a condition for realizing the value of man. Evaluating an individual's value is not solely done by looking at whether his existence is accepted and his needs are met by the society and other people. A more important factor is whether this person performs his responsibilities and makes a contribution to society and to other people. If one disregards man's social nature, and particularly if one disregards a person's responsibilities and contributions to society, and only talks about a person's value in terms of whether his needs are satisfied, it would be very easy to get bogged down in individualism. Of course, seen from the angle of society, and particularly from the angle of socialist society, full attention must be paid to individual needs, including both natural and social needs, and spiritual and material needs. On the question of how to realize people's value, we should fully encourage the persons who seek their value by rigidly following the correct path. However, we cannot encourage those ideas which completely advocate "self," propagate "self-planning" and "self-struggle" and reject collectivism. The realization of a person's value must truly rely on the individual's subjective efforts, but this is completely different to rejecting other people and seeing other people as obstacles to "self" development. What we mean by subjective efforts is making a contribution to society and to other people. However, those people who see other people as an obstacle to "self" development often bring about harm to other people and the society in order to realize an increase in "self" value. Marx and Engels said: "It is only in the collective that the individual can obtain the means by which to fully develop his abilities." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 82) This is a truth. It tells us that only in the collective can the individual obtain the means by which to realize his value. The liberation of the proletariat is different from that of any other class, as only after liberating all mankind can it finally liberate itself. Actually it is impossible for an individual to be divorced from the class and the collective and to strive alone for individual liberation. The proletarian concept of value and collectivism are unified. Or, put another way, collectivism is the core of the proletarian concept of value. Of course, while we stress collectivism, we are not negating individuals or individuality. It is precisely as the 6th Plenary Session's

"Resolution" pointed out: Socialist collectivism is "a combining of the interests of the state, the interests of the collectives and the interests of the individuals." Previously, under the influence of "leftist" guiding ideology, we one-sidedly stressed the collective and overlooked the individuals and individuality. We should bear that lesson in mind.

What is the yardstick for value? How should people go about appraising value? If we are to answer this question, first we must see the relationship between the concept of value and the world view clearly. The concept of value is not the same as the world view, because it does not provide answers to what the true features of the objective world are, and neither does it reveal the essence and patterns of the objective world. The concept of value provides answers as to the significance of the objective world on man. Although this is indispensable for people to actively understand the objective world, the concept of value must, in the end, have a certain world view as its basis and precondition. According to the Marxist world view, in general, things (including both material and spiritual things) which accord with the pattern of development of the objective world and conform with the trend of historical development have positive significance; that is, they have value. In the socialist period, whether or not we can promote the development of the social productive forces and whether or not we can satisfy the continually increasing material and cultural demands of the people is the basic standard for all value appraisals. This standard is objective and accords with the interests of the vast masses of people. However, problems which often occur in value appraisals are subjectivism and individualism. An automatic tendency in value appraisal is for people to consciously and unconsciously assess everything by whether it is good or bad for themselves. There are times when the value appraisals forthcoming from this automatic tendency are correct. However, they are very often incorrect. If we are to overcome this tendency, we must make great efforts in studying and mastering the Marxist scientific world view, and consciously take this as the theoretical base and guiding ideology on which to make value appraisals of people and things.

Establishing correct value concepts is an important part of building socialist spiritual civilization. Value concepts, like other concepts, are produced in social practice and change following changes in social practice. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in the lively practice of the new socialist period, people's value concepts have undergone and are undergoing great changes. Namely, value concepts of benefit to socialist modernization and the overall reforms are gradually being formed, and are daily becoming more influential on people's hearts and are playing an increasingly large role. This prominently shows that value judgments about the commodity economy, time, benefits, knowledge, skills, information, competition, markets and other concepts have become much more important than in the past. At the same time, it should be recognized that in our nation there still exists, to a serious degree, value concepts which are not in agreement with socialist modernization and the overall reforms. This mainly refers to those value concepts connected with the pernicious influence of feudal ideology, with the conservative and narrow concepts of small producers and with decadent bourgeois ideology. In the building of socialist spiritual

civilization, we must seriously study how the building of spiritual civilization is to promote reform and opening up and how it is to promote the development of the socialist commodity economy. In this process, seriously studying the changes in value concepts will help people to establish correct value concepts. This study is an unavoidable task of our theory workers.

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## ON JUSTICE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 87 p 45

[Article by Liu Ren [2692 0086]]

[Text] In the Beijing opera "Su San Qi Jie" [Su San Offers His Interpretation], Chong Gongdao [literally, "advocating justice"], a bailiff specializing in explaining documents, says: "You say they are just, but I say I am; only heaven knows who is." Du Mu, a poet of the Tang Dynasty, wrote these lines: "White hairs alone in the world do justice, for they do not spare colonizing the heads of even the cream of society." Both Chong Gongdao and Du Mu satirized injustice in government affairs and expressed discontent with the feudal autocratic system. True, in feudal society, the working people suffered economic exploitation and political oppression; hoping the exploiters and rulers would pay attention to justice was as hopeless as asking a tiger for its fur.

However, whether justice exists is a different matter than whether people pay attention to justice. We cannot deny the existence of justice just because some people do not pay attention to it. We believe in the existence of justice. I think Chong Gongdao's words can be rephrased to read: "People naturally know who is just." The saying: "justice is always in people's hearts" has the same meaning. To be plain, justice means a set of principles concerning what is just. Upholding justice means getting to know the true face of things, distinguishing right from wrong realistically, and handling affairs justly and reasonably. Partiality and selfishness are contrary to justice. Eliminating selfishness and avoiding partiality are essential to achieving justice. Harboring evil intentions or partiality inevitably results in distorted views of persons and things; justice in handling affairs will then be out of the question. [The ancient scholar] Xunzi said: "Well developed justice blocks the gateway to selfishness, and the predominance of justice puts an end to secret dealings." Xiao Wangzhi, a prince's teacher in the Western Han Dynasty, said: "When justice prevails, evil and perverse will be restrained and abuse of power will disappear." These two ancients' views on justice and selfishness bear the limitations of their times and cannot match our socialist views on justice and selfishness, but their view that justice is highly essential to preventing political corruption highly deserves our reflection.

Whenever the evil and the perverse have their way and abuse of power is rampant, justice will inevitably disappear; the history of our party includes experiences in this regard. In the mid-1930's, Zhang Guotao formed his own faction in the party and appointed people by favoritism; his supporters prospered but his adversaries perished. This caused grave harm to our party. Comrade Mao Zedong advocated appointing people on their merits instead of by favoritism; this was directed against Zhang Guotao's factionalist line of organization. Generally speaking, during the war years and during a later period after the founding of the PRC, our party did practice, or has been practicing, a policy concerning cadres marked by justice and uprightness, appointing people with diverse backgrounds. During the decade of internal disorder, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" monopolized power, openly discarded the organizational principle of justice and uprightness, and forming factions to pursue private gains became an open secret. In those years, the evil and the perverse held sway, and abuse of power was rampant. Where could people find justice? The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee restored our party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts. Since then, order has been brought out of chaos, the verdict on numerous wrong, unjust, or fabricated cases has been reversed, and our party's policies regarding cadres, intellectuals, and the united front have been fully implemented. This represents the triumph of truth, righteousness, and justice.

Currently, in carrying out reforms and opening up China to the outside world, we must fully mobilize the enthusiasm of the billions of people. We need a good social setting and harmonious interpersonal relations. Thus, it is imperative that leading cadres at all levels adhere to our policy regarding cadres marked by justice and uprightness. Unless leading cadres uphold justice and uprightness in appointing personnel and handling affairs, they will inevitably be divorced from the masses, the enthusiasm of the masses will be reduced, our party's image among the masses will be affected, and we may even face the danger of losing the people's trust. If leading cadres are just and upright, if in treating people they do not dismiss their mistakes, gloss over their faults, or lavish awards or praises on them; and if in treating those they dislike they do not dismiss their good deeds, suppress their correct views, or go to excesses in punishing or denouncing them, then, our party's principles can be upheld, people will feel at ease, and the mobilization of the enthusiasm of the masses as well as stability and unity can be promoted.

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 87 pp 46-47

[Text] Stereotyped Titles Must Be Earnestly Avoided

Very often, in deciding whether one should read an article, one would first look at its "window"--the title. RED FLAG should insist on imposing high standards and stringent demands on entitlement. Overall, the majority of articles in RED FLAG have relatively good titles, but there are also some problems. Considering recent articles, some titles are not distinctive, and some have the same old style. An example of the latter case is: While a title appearing in No 9, 1985 was "Guard Against Bungling the Important Matter of 'Learning From Others' Experiences," another in No 21, 1985 was "Guard Against the Relentless Overworking of Bai Le," and a third in No 2, 1986 was "Guard Against Turning Publication Into a Money-Spinner." Starting articles with "guard against" is not blameworthy, but overworking some words makes them so cliched and monotonous that the reader feels like he is looking at "a thousand faces with the same expression" and "a thousand essays of the same style." Even the best titles or expressions should not be used repeatedly. Thus, the repeated use of some words in a short span of several months between the latter half of 1985 and the beginning of 1986 is highly inappropriate. It is hoped that people will put more effort into entitlement and strive for novelty, relevance, liveliness, conciseness, and nonconformity to conventional patterns.

Writer: Lin Leng [2651 0397] of the Research Office of the Fujian Provincial Committee of the CPC

Two Comments on the Article "On Strengthening the Enterprising Spirit"

I think the viewpoints in the article "On Strengthening the Enterprising Spirit" in RED FLAG No 22, 1986 are generally correct, and the article does provide enlightenment. However, two points in it appear to be open to question. First, on the matter of waste, the kind of waste mentioned in the article does exist, and should be eradicated. However, the greatest waste in China, past and present, is the waste incurred in capital construction. This waste involves not only figures of several hundred of billions. It is invisible to the general populace and seems incapable of arousing public indignation. Some of those directly responsible for this waste have



an easy conscience, thinking "the motive is justified." Actually, this waste is a most serious crime. If the enterprising spirit should pervade every arena, it should in the first place pervade this one. Second, on the question of "beyond-reality ideologies of consumption": The article says these ideologies refer to consumption of the "nutrition type," "beauty type," "knowledge type," "pleasure-seeking type," "social intercourse type," and so on. I think these types of consumption are not "beyond" reality. The term "beyond" should mean a desire for consumption that surpasses feasibility. This desire is not erroneous in itself. Discontentment with the current situation and aspiration to a good life are understandable; the question is what means should be employed to satisfy these desires. Some people work hard for advancement, trying to attain their goals by diligence and creativity. This should be encouraged, not restrained. If consumption is increased by "undermining accumulation" or other improper means, this should be opposed, and even denounced and formally dealt with. We must not return to the beaten track of perpetrating thrift in daily life but waste in production, in a penny wise and pound foolish manner; this amounts to putting the cart before the horse.

Writer: Li Shoupeng [2621 1108 1756] of the East China Institute of Chemical Engineering

#### Wishes Concerning the "Theoretical Probe" Column

Your new "Theoretical Probe" column has gained the attention of some teachers of theory in institutes of higher learning. Some say: "The official publication of the CPC Central Committee should take the lead in this respect." Others say: "Satisfactorily maintaining columns like this will help strengthen the tie between RED FLAG and the theoretical circles." As a reader, I have several wishes:

1. A wish for perseverance in maintaining this column. All undertakings are difficult at the start. This is more true in maintaining this kind of column that involves great difficulty. This undertaking, however, must not be hastily put to a premature end as soon as any signs of trouble appear.
2. A wish for the genuine implementation of the guiding principle of "let a hundred schools of thought contend." Pursuing a probe requires that different voices be aired in the column and that each express his views freely.
3. A wish for the gradual extension of the space allotted to this column and the continual raising of the level of the theoretical probe. Some major, important, or difficult theoretical questions must be daringly studied. An atmosphere of realistically analyzing different views to seek the truth in a probe must be created.

Writer: Xu Zhengfan [6979 1767 1581] of the People's University of China

## Multifacetedness Is Indispensable in Making One's Analysis Convincing

In RED FLAG No 20, 1986, the article "Why Launching Activities To Transform Social Traditions Is Considered an Important Job in Building Spiritual Civilization?" says that prevailing habits and customs contain both essence and dross. This is an analytical view. However, it is not all-inclusive to merely discuss the distinction between the new aspect and the old aspect, and to present only the desirable effects of new habits and customs and the undesirable effects of old ones. I think we should realize, through further analysis, that not all new habits and customs completely satisfy the demands of socialist spiritual civilization, while some old habits and customs should be critically carried forward. For example, although filial piety and respect for one's parents constitute an old tradition which reflects feudal morality, the traditional virtue of respecting the elderly and loving the young should continue to be developed today. In short, prevailing habits and customs must be classified into good and bad ones, not merely new and old ones. Good customs and habits must be carried forward even if they are old ones; their essence must be assimilated and their dross discarded. Bad ones should not be advocated even if they are new. Not all new ones are perfectly good, while not all old ones are totally undesirable. One's analysis can be convincing only if it is specific and multifaceted.

Writer: He Zhengmu [0149 2973 2606] of NANJING RIBAO

## One Must Weigh One's Words in Writing Articles

RED FLAG is the theoretical publication of the CPC Central Committee. Its influence is relatively widespread. Its articles must not only be of adequate theoretical depth, but must also exhibit care in the use of words and expressions. Generally speaking, RED FLAG pays relatively close attention to this matter, but sometimes there are some careless mistakes. For example, in the article "The Red Army Feared Not the Difficulties of the Long March" in No 20, 1986, there are three instances where the choice of words calls for deliberation: 1) In the published expression "zou tou [7333] wu lu" [driven to the wall], the character "tou [7333]" should preferably be replaced by "tou [2121]." Although in the past the former was used in the expression "zou tou wu lu," the latter is generally used nowadays. 2) In line 13 of the article, a sentence reads "wherever [na li 0763 5937] the Red Army went, wherever [na li 0763 5937] the enemy also went for interception." The first "wherever" is correct because it refers to a general place; the second "wherever" should preferably be replaced by "there [na li 6719 5937]," according to the general custom of usage, because there [na li 6719 5937] refers to a particular place. 3) In the 7th line from the bottom of page 4, the character "zhi [5267]" in the published expression "ke di zhi [5267] sheng" [defeating the enemy] is correct if we judge from the meaning of the character alone; however, because "ke di zhi [0455] sheng" is an idiom, the proper character zhi [0455] should have been used according to the strict norm of idiom usage. I mention these three examples not only because that article uses the characters "tou [7333]," "na [0763]," and "zhi [5267]," but also because similar mistakes occur frequently elsewhere. Therefore, I suggest that the use of words in major

publications and important articles should be standardized as much as possible.

Currently, there is a relatively widespread misuse of simplified Chinese characters or privately coined simplified characters, the latter being actually wrongly written characters, in many publications and newspapers. These mistakes will escape notice at the slightest lack of caution and correcting them is particularly arduous. Common mistakes include the use of fu [0102] in place of the correct character fu [0479] [meaning deputy or nonstaple] in fu shuji, fu xianzhang, fu shipin [deputy secretary, deputy county governor, nonstaple food respectively]; the use of yu [0056] in place of the correct character yu [7315] [pre-] in yusuan, yuji, yufu [budget, estimate, prepayment respectively]; the use of wu [0582] in place of the correct character wu [5294] [dance] in guwu and wutai [encourage and stage respectively]; the use of ling [0109] in place of the correct character ling [7881] in nianling [age]; the use of dao [1418] in place of the correct character dao [6670] in baodao [report]; the use of bu [1580] in place of the correct character bu [6752] in bushu [deploy]; the use of fu [4569] in ming fu qi shi [worthy of the name]; the use of ming [2494] in place of the correct character ming [0682] in mo ming qi miao [baffling]; and so on. This problem is not difficult to solve if everyone pays attention to it. The best method is to guard against mistakes at each step. The writers must not try to simplify matters in the first place and must conform to norms in using characters. A good job must be conscientiously done at various links like typesetting, editing of manuscripts, proofreading, and printing. In this way, the nuisance of characters will be gradually eliminated. Comrades doing literary work should not consider this a minor matter and adopt an indifferent attitude.

Writer: Guo Fuyou [0948 1318 2589] of the Research Office of the Shandong Provincial Committee of the CPC Central Committee

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A SUCCESSFUL DISPLAY OF THE MASCULINITY BY CONTEMPORARY ARMYMEN--WATCHING THE  
TELEVISION SERIES 'TRIUMPH AT MIDNIGHT'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 87 p 48

[Article by He Shaojun [6320 4801 0193]]

[Text] More than a year ago, I felt somewhat worried when I heard that the Beijing Television Arts Center had decided to produce a television series, "Triumph at Midnight," because although the original novel is highly readable and its plot is bold and unconstrained, its framework merely follows the familiar "love triangle" model. Could its television series version provide the audience with rich ideological meaning? Watching the television series has dispelled this worry. You Xiaogang, the young director, has my admiration for his decisive choice. Instead of indulging in the cheap but considerably captivating entanglements of a love affair, he strives to make use of gun-powder-smoke-filled, magnificent scenes of battles to depict the modern armyman's lofty patriotism.

The majority of movies and telefilms on war produced in recent years have stressed describing armyman's sentiments of love at the expense of a positive description of war. Naturally, they proceed from depicting armyman as human beings and revealing their inner world. However, armyman not only have tender feelings, but, more importantly, possess the beautiful quality of masculinity. Our audience precisely wants to get to know and understand our modern armyman as much as this war which captured the whole nation's attention. "Triumph at Midnight" was well received by its audience precisely because it fulfilled their aspiration in this connection. Tong Chuan and Jiang Man, who were sent to work in the countryside and mountain areas, Li Zhangnian, a member of a peasant household earning over 10,000 yuan a year, and Mr Huang, who plays the harmonica, are suddenly drawn into this grim war, carrying with them the scars of past years and beautiful hopes about the future. Lofty patriotism makes them forget the troubles of life and motivates them to realize their own personal value in the war. In this connection, the series moves the audience not by depicting the destiny of only a few individuals, but by depicting the masses' willpower and spirit shown in battle. Several panoramic scenes are highly successful, like the oath-taking rally, the scene at the cemetery of revolutionary martyrs, and the triumph at midnight. They contain no description of specific developments of events or conflicts between individual characters. Generally speaking, television

dramas should avoid presenting such panoramic scenes. But the director purposely attempts what should be avoided and repeatedly plays up those scenes to give an overall picture of the might of the patriotic spirit. In tackling those several panoramic scenes, the series fully exploits the characteristics of direct visual perception, and creates a deeply moving atmosphere through the use of artistic means like color, picture composition, movement of the camera, and so on. For example, the big army flag specially made for the oath-taking rally provides a greatly simplified frame and produces an expansive effect by its redness, and thus helps make up for the psychological limitation caused by the smallness of the television screen. Another example is that the red soil of the southern territories constitutes the basic tone of the entire screen. It not only adds an air of nobility to the characters, but also heightens the sentiment of the audience, who feel like they are personally attending the rally and drinking with the armymen before setting off for the expedition, their hearts swelling with the heroic spirit of readiness to sacrifice their lives bravely for the motherland.

Of course, war scenes filled with gun-powder smoke are definitely not the only thing that greets the audience's eyes. The playwrights and the director also strive to show the flavor of contemporary life in general. Thus, Li Zhangnian, carrying a gift, tries to gain admission into the shock platoon by "getting in by the back door." Guang Niu wants to make a good showing in combat and says: "If I die I will visit Marx in Hades and apply for an evening university place there; if I survive I will sit for the entrance examinations at Beijing University and Qinghua University." Also shown are a cassette recorder in the trenches, a disco smelling of gun-powder smoke, and even a puppy characterized by its rich affection alone; all this enhances the audience's understanding of the soldiers. Therefore, we can say that although "Triumph at Midnight" directly depicts war, its purpose does not lie in war. Its use of war to show the modern armymen's masculinity precisely satisfies what our times and the people call for.

The director launches many new artistic pursuits in "Triumph at Midnight," achieving success in the use of color, picture composition, and so on. However, the overall plot and the interpretation of life are not completely free from the trammels of old aesthetic concepts. Certain developments in the plot show that the playwrights and the director have carved up life into unconnected fragments in order to demonstrate and develop some ideas. Patriotism is truly the modern armymen's main ideology, but this ideology cannot be simplistically epitomized by some specific act or heroic words of an armyman; it should pervade his entire life. Moreover, the partitioning of the plot into halves also indicates ambiguity in aesthetic ideas. The playwrights and the director intend to show the modern armymen's consciousness of their historical role, but the description of the characters' destiny is caught in some kind of abstract moral evaluation. To some extent this affects the expression of the modern armymen's deep inner thoughts. I sincerely hope that our artists create a larger number of better works reflecting our modern armymen's masculinity.

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BEING GEARED TO REALITY, SOLVING PROBLEMS--REVIEWING 'PHILOSOPHY IN PROBLEMS'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 87 inside back cover

[Book review by Liu Futang [0491 4395 1016]]

[Text] Philosophy is the cream and essence of the era. It exists in real problems and guides man to solve real problems. Just as Comrade Huang Nan-sen pointed out in the preface of his book "Philosophy in Problems": "Philosophy is not mystical or profound. It is not something far away from the world. Philosophy is found in our life and is in the bringing up and solving of various problems. Each and every one of us is consciously or unconsciously using certain philosophical viewpoints to guide our activities." "Philosophy is found in any problem and any philosophical viewpoint can be found in problems."

The main and special feature of the book is its merging the elucidation and solution of real problems and the application of Marxist philosophy into a single body, enabling people to clearly feel the pulse of the era. It firmly insists on using the basic principles of Marxist philosophy to elucidate and explain real problems in natural science, social development and progress in thinking. For example, the author directly took troubling problems people frequently meet with in their actual work as questions, such as: "When thinking about conditions, is it rightist conservatism?" "Why do the guidelines of independence, autonomy and self-regeneration not preclude the seeking of foreign aid and learning from foreign countries?" "Why do our rural villages universally enforce the system of contracted production responsibilities with payment linked to output?" "Is it true that current Western countries are no longer tools for class oppression?" The author further pointed out that if "idealism opposes science, how can it still exist and develop today?" "Is man the starting point in Marxism?" "Can robots rule mankind?" Seen from these theoretical questions which make people think deeply and from the philosophical questions on natural science, the author firmly insists on and develops, the merging of Marxist philosophy with elucidation of these problems. As seen by the author, employment of Marxist philosophy to solve real problems and development of Marxist philosophy are inalienable.

The second special feature of this book is that the author does not confine or restrict himself by people's past elucidation of Marxist philosophical



tenets. Rather, in the course of explaining the real problems, he carries out a new investigation and display of certain tenets of Marxist philosophy. For example, in the past, people frequently and in a general way acknowledged an economic basis as the sum total of production relations and also treated "sum total" as the total of adding together laterally the various kinds of production relations. However, this book explains the problem from two directions: First it mentions the sum total of the various production relations when referring to the sum total of lateral production relations. The author believes that this is not sufficient as there is still another sector: "The sum total of the various sides of the production relations, i.e., the sum total of the three sides of the ownership form of the means of production, people's position in the production and their reciprocal relations (including relations of their reciprocal exchange of activities and products) and the form of distribution of the products. These refer to the sum total of the vertical production relations." The author believes that the dynamic process of the interlocking development of these three sides constitutes the economic basis. This presentation is penetrating. If this economic basis is taken as the sum total of various sides of production relations, then naturally only the static side of the picture of the economic basis can be seen and this will not be beneficial to the current reform. Moreover, the author makes a new elucidation on the different roles of the masses' creation of history in different periods, the problem of truth, the class struggle problem, and the problem of productive forces.

The third special feature of the book is its vivacity, which is common or popular and readily understandable. People have often considered philosophy to be abstract and dry, puzzling the difficult to understand. But this book converts abstract philosophy into concrete problems, and presents deeply profound ideas in clear and lively terms. To quote: "A cool breeze blows gently; the bending willow brushes one's face; not a ripple on the water; this is the phenomenon of wind. Its nature is the flow of air current caused by the difference in atmospheric pressure. The rain stops and the sky is clear, a rainbow is astride the horizon, colors galore. This is the phenomenon of light. Its nature is the formation of electromagnetic waves of different lengths. Spring comes to good earth; hundreds of flowers blossom, some in red, some in blue, boundless forests, luxuriant trees and pruned groves of bamboo; rattan and wisteria grow in entanglement, nice paddy fields and fertile soil, the aroma of paddy and wheat flows in an unending stream. All this is the phenomenon of vegetation. Its essence is through the process of photosynthesis of chlorophyll to produce food for the sustenance of life and propagation." Here, the author is not composing a poem, but is simply using lively language and concrete examples to elucidate the tenets of Marxism regarding essence and phenomenon.

This book truly offers popular reading materials to the broad masses of cadres and youths. Through it one can obtain a basic understanding of Marxist philosophy and it is enlightening when used to analyze and solve real problems.

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